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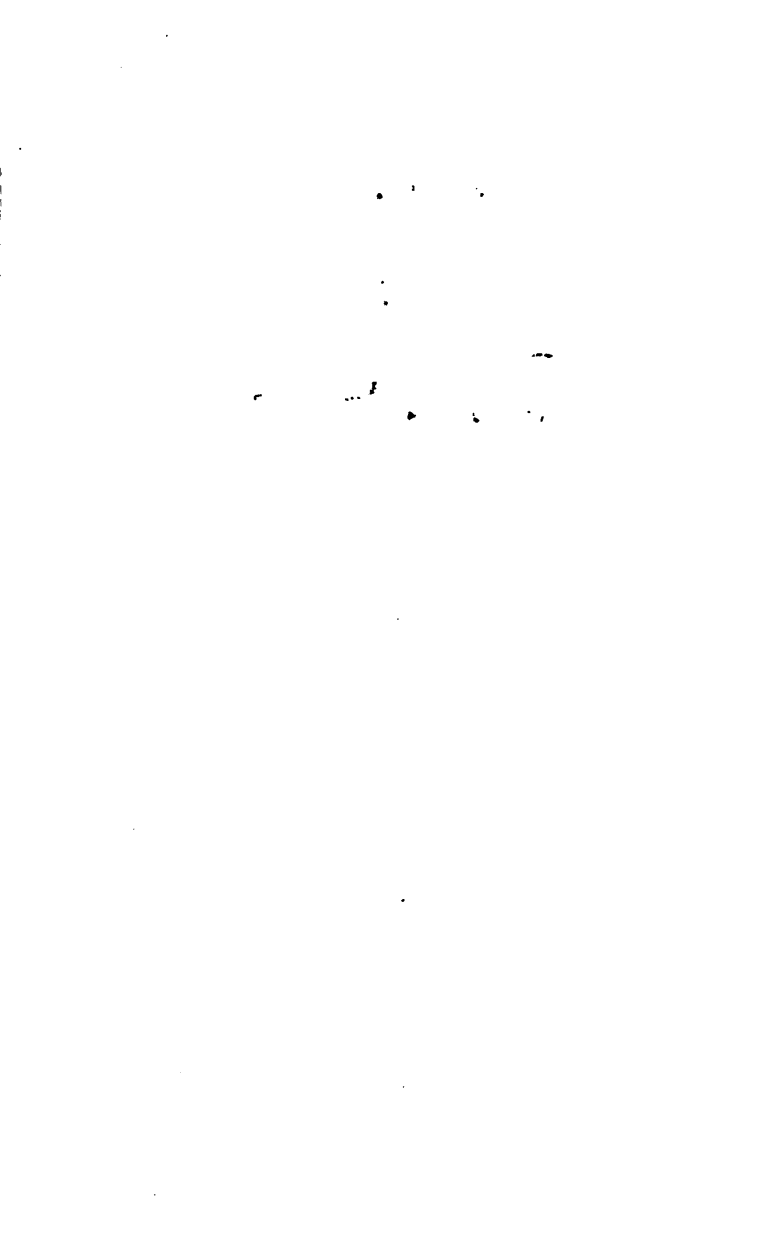
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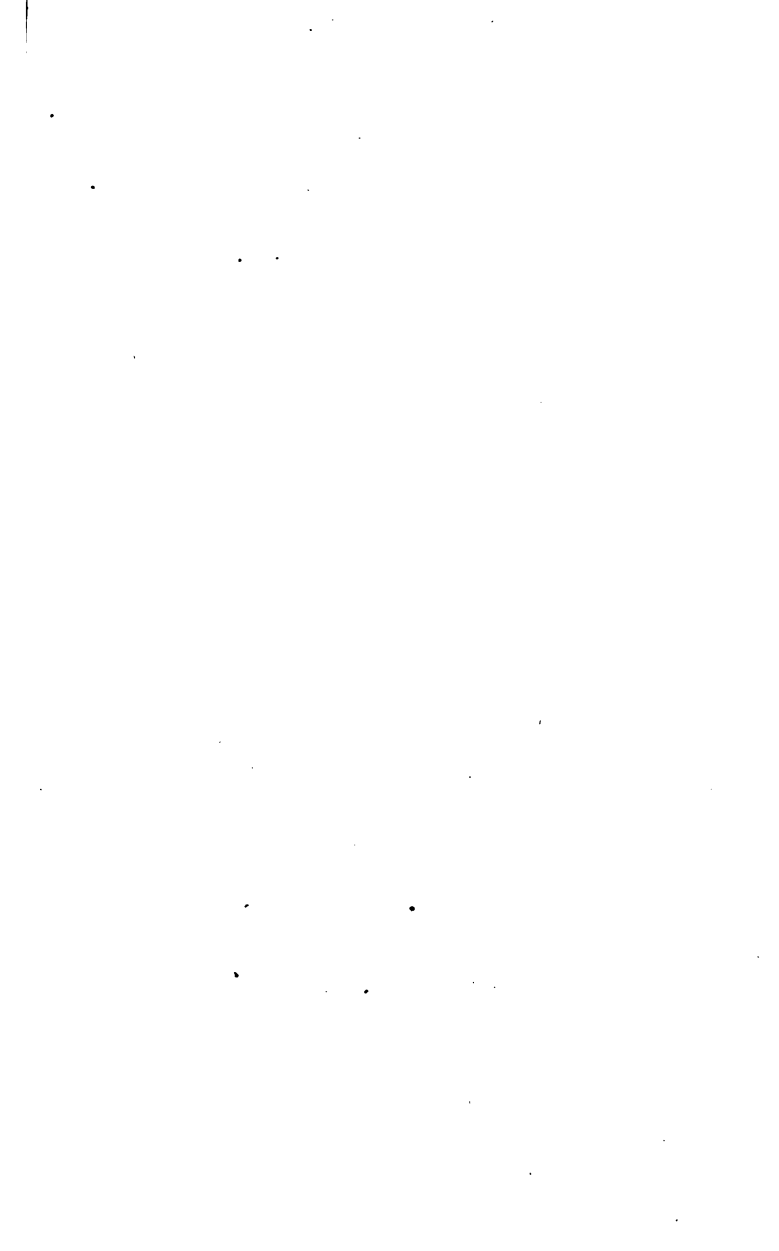


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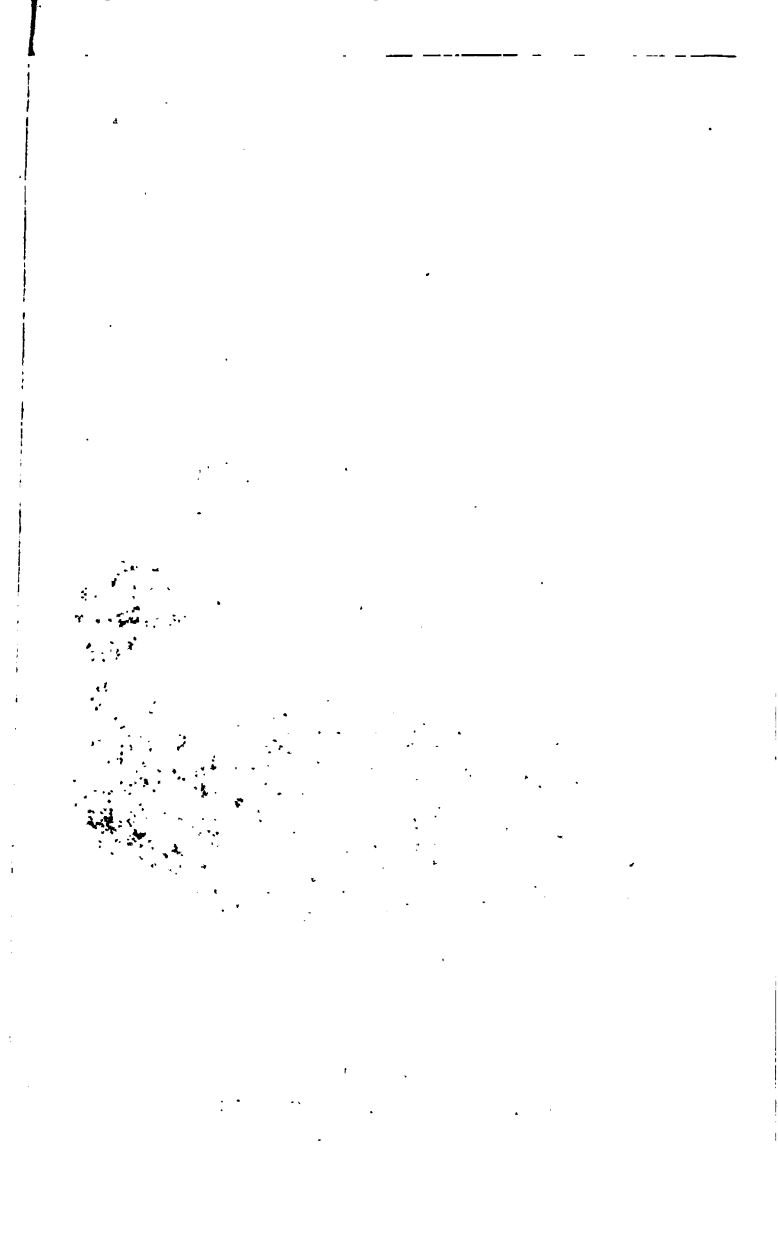
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OF SCOTS.

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OF SCOTS.

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THE
ABBEY AND PALACE
— OF —
HOLYROOD.



Edinburgh.

PUBLISHED BY HENRY COURTOY

KEEPER OF THE CHAPEL ROYAL.



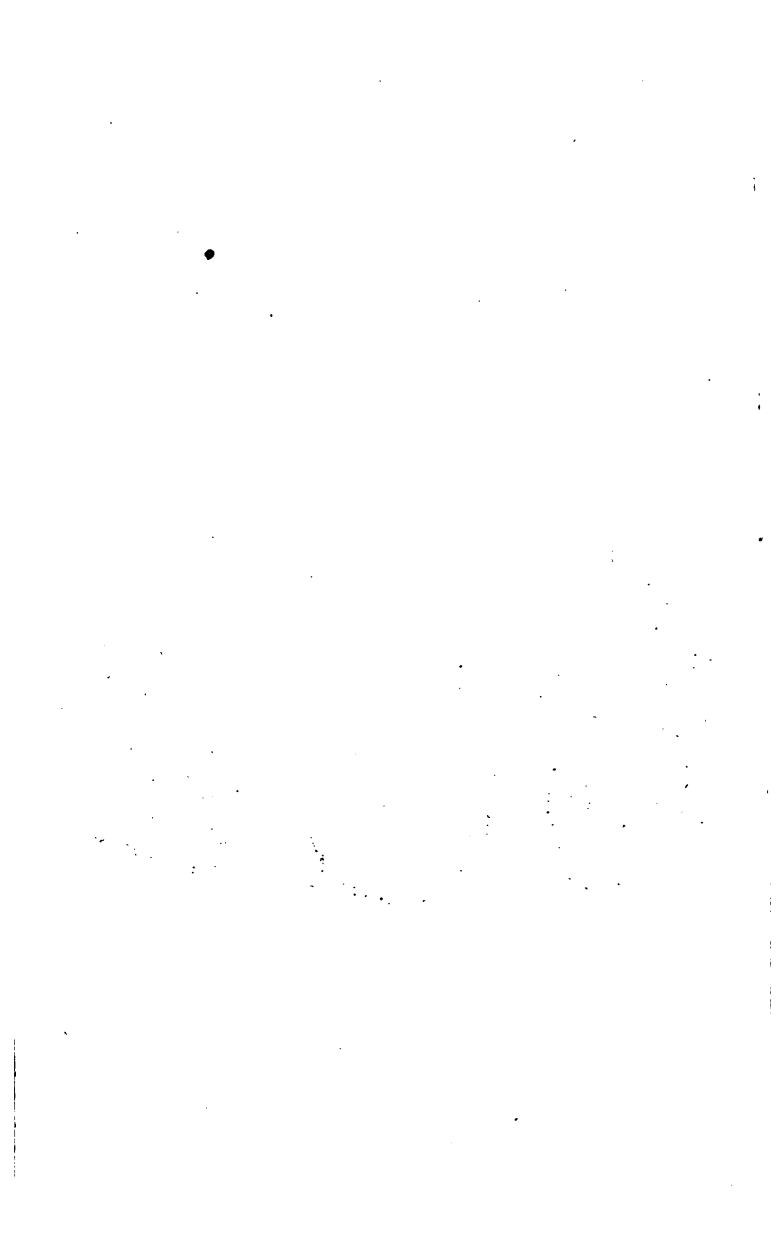
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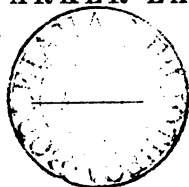
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HISTORY
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OF
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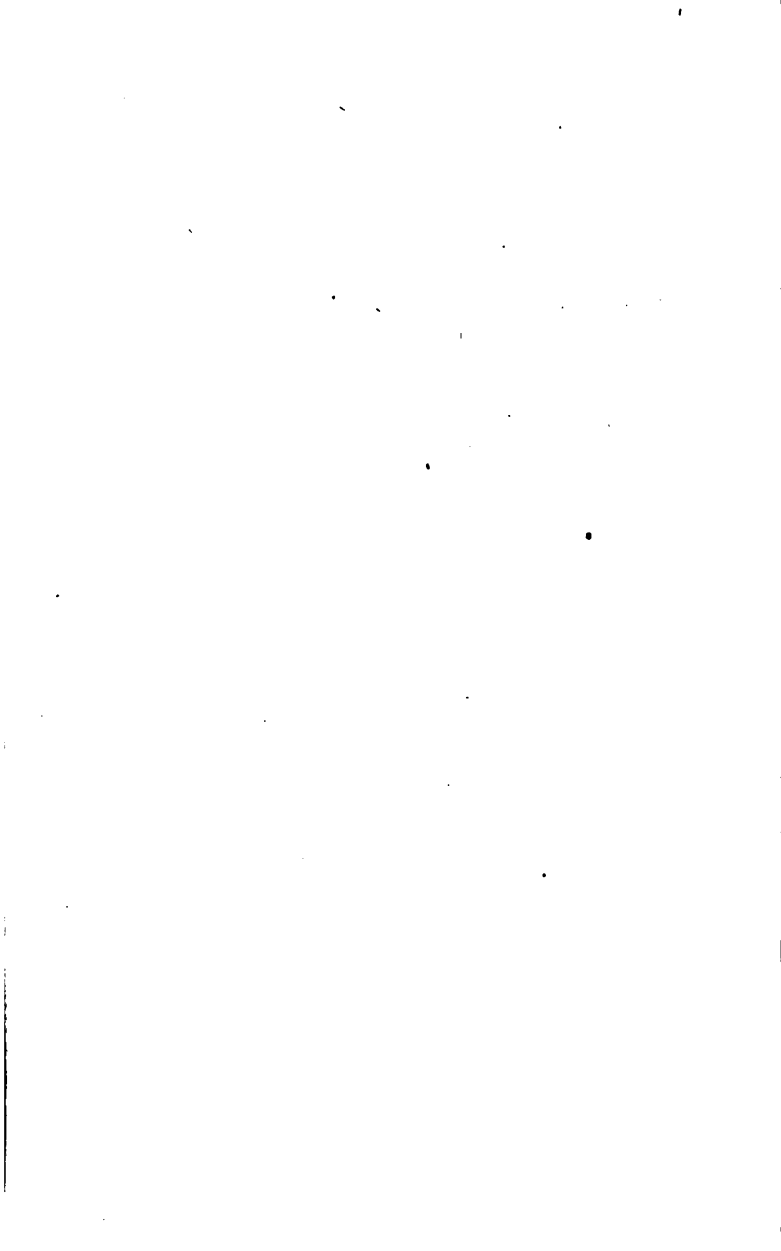
With Illustrations.

BY
JOHN PARKER LAWSON.



EDINBURGH :
PRINTED FOR AND PUBLISHED BY
HENRY COURTOY,
KEEPER OF THE CHAPEL-ROYAL, ABBEY OF HOLYROOD,
AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.

1848.



TO HIS GRACE
ALEXANDER DUKE OF HAMILTON
AND BRANDON,

DUKE OF CHATELHERAULT,
KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER,
&c. &c. &c.

PREMIER DUKE OF SCOTLAND,

AND TO HER GRACE
SUSAN-EUPHEMIA DUCHESS OF
HAMILTON AND BRANDON,

THIS
History of the Abbey and Palace
OF
HOLYROODHOUSE,

OF WHICH
HIS GRACE IS HEREDITARY KEEPER,

IS HUMBLY INSCRIBED BY
THEIR GRACES' MOST OBEDIENT AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,
HENRY COURTOY.

PREFACE.

THIS volume, the object of which is the elucidation of the venerable Abbey of Holyrood, or the Holy Cross, and of the Palace of Holyroodhouse, may be considered the successor of another narrative on the same interesting themes.

IN 1834 MR HENRY COURTOY was appointed, under Commission of the Privy Seal, sole Beadle and Keeper of the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood. With an ardour and zeal rarely displayed, and scarcely to be expected from one not a native of Scotland, though long an enthusiastic admirer of its antiquities and traditions, Mr Courtoy began to form collections illustrative of the edifice with which he is officially connected, the Palace, and the adjoining royal domain of the Parks, Arthur's Seat, and Salisbury Crags. The result was the publication, in the years 1837 and 1838, of a volume entitled—"Historical Guide to the Abbey and Palace of Holyrood, including the Annals of the Chapel-Royal, the Natural History of the Environs, and the Laws and Privileges of the

Sanctuary, collected by Henry Courtoy," and edited by Mr James Macmillan. That volume was so well received by the Public, that it has been for several years out of print. Such, however, is the anxiety of visitors of the Chapel-Royal and Palace to possess a narrative of the interesting events connected with those edifices, that the production of this volume, illustrated and embellished by wood-cuts and engravings which cannot fail to render it acceptable to the reader, was considered necessary.

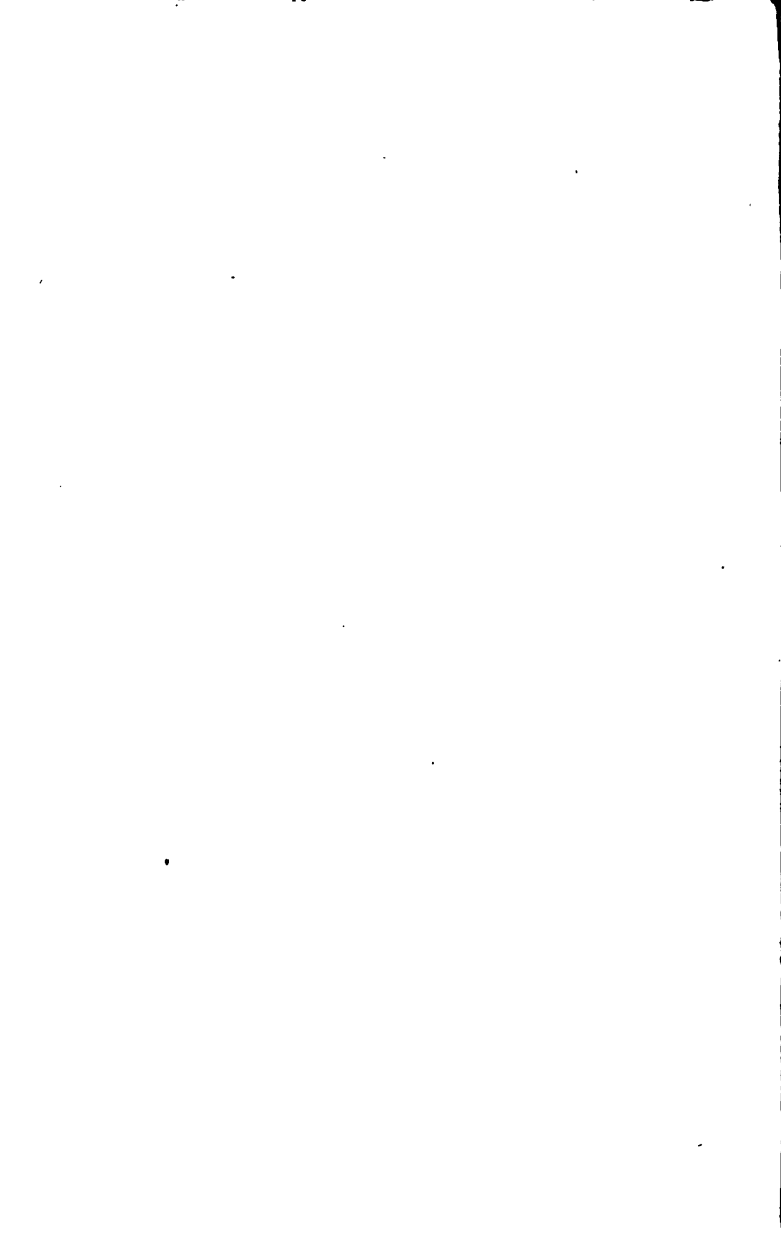
It may be sufficient to state, that the present volume differs in arrangement and details from its predecessor. To preserve the narrative or text entire, the Natural History of the Environs, the Laws and Privileges of the Sanctuary, which are now to a great extent unnecessary, and a variety of curious and important matters, will be found in the "Notes and References" which conclude the Volume. The Engravings are valuable additions to this narrative. These are the work of MR JOHN WEST, Edinburgh, and evince that he is entitled to the very highest reputation in his profession.

J. P. L.



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THE
ABBAY AND PALACE
OF
HOLYROOD.

CHAPTER I.

THE MIRACULOUS FOUNDATION.

 HE most munificent benefactor of the Papal Hierarchy and the Monastic Orders in Scotland was King David I., or St David, as he was also called, the sixth son of Malcolm III. and of his canonized Queen St Margaret, and the successor of his brothers Edgar and Alexander I., from 1124 to 1153. Malcolm and his Queen, though enthusiastic in their zeal, particularly the latter, for the then system of religion, made few donations to ecclesiastics, merely commencing an endowment of Benedictines at Dunfermline, and granting a small portion of land to the Culdees in Fife; but it was reserved for David I., whom one of his royal successors wittily designated "a sore saint for the crown,"¹ to transmit his name to posterity as the founder of several noble religious houses, the ruins of which never fail to excite admiration, and one of these is the Abbey of Holyrood.

According to the legend, the Abbey of Holyrood is connected with the ground on which David I. escaped from an enraged stag by the miraculous intervention of the Cross. This apparently contradicts the statement that when the King founded the Abbey in honour of the Holy Cross, the Virgin Mary, and all Saints, for Canons Regular of the Order of St Augustine brought originally from St Andrews, he placed the convent within Edinburgh Castle, the church of which he assigned to the Abbey; but that fortress may have been the temporary residence of the ecclesiastics after the event occurred which excited David's piety, till the Abbey was ready for their reception. As it respects the legend, a great authority has declared that it would be "superfluous to confute it," and that "it has not even the merit of antiquity, for it appears to be a fiction more recent than the days of Boece;"² but though Boece has varied his narrative of the reign of David I. with the legend of Holyrood, and Bellenden is accused as the author of the interpolation, yet it has been proved not to be a modern invention.³ The Ritual Book of the Abbey, which is the primary authority for it, could scarcely be its origin, and it occurs in one of the ancient Service Books of the monastery prepared in the thirteenth or fourteenth century.⁴ This book is supposed to have been compiled during the reign of the first James, probably while he was a captive in England; and though the earlier seals of the Abbot and Convent contain no allusion to the legend, the chapter seal used in the reign of the first James, displaying the stag with the cross between its antlers, indicates that it had been believed, and it is repeated in subsequent seals.

The legend of the origin of the miraculous foundation of Holyrood, as set forth by Bellenden in his translation of Boece, is curious, though not without its parallels in some other countries. It is entitled—"How Kyng David past to the hunters on the Croce Day in hervest, how he was dung fra his hors be ane wyld hart, and how he founded the Abbay of Halyrudhus be myracle of the Holy Croce."⁵ In the fourth year of his reign, according to the legend, David I. visited the "Maiden Castle" of Edinburgh. In the vicinity of the Castle was a most extensive forest, probably that known as Drumselch, which abounded with deer and other animals of the chase. On Rood Day, or the festival of the Exaltation of the Cross, which was observed with great solemnity, David was employed in pious contemplations; but after the celebration of divine service some young nobles waited on him, and requested that he would join them in a hunt in the said forest. Alwin, canon of the Order of St Augustine, who had been the King's confessor in England when he was Earl of Huntingdon and Northumberland, attempted to persuade him not to join in any diversion on such a solemn day, but rather to devote it altogether to religion. The King, however, yielded to the request against the advice of Alwin, and the hunting party proceeded to the east of the city, near the locality of Salisbury Crags. David and his attendants were soon separated, and when he came towards the base of the Crags, one of the finest deer he had ever seen suddenly appeared, and ran with fearful violence towards him. The King's horse was so alarmed as to become unmanageable, and the hart threw the royal rider to the ground, severely wounding him in the

thigh. While David held out his arms to save himself from the attack of the infuriated hart, a piece of the true Cross which he possessed in a crucifix, though, according to Father Hay, it marvellously slipped into his hands, caused the animal to disappear at the spot where springs the Rood Well.⁶ His attendants came to him from all parts of the forest to congratulate him on his escape, and fell on their knees, devoutly adoring the Holy Cross, and the miraculous preservation of their King. David returned to Edinburgh Castle, and in the night he was admonished in a vision to found an Abbey for Canons Regular of the Order of St Augustine near the spot where he was preserved by the Cross. When he awoke he made known his vision to Alwin, who zealously encouraged him to obey the divine command. He immediately sent to France and Flanders, and obtained "richt crafty masons" to erect the Abbey, which he dedicated to the Holy Cross. The piece of the true Cross, of which, as the legend sets forth, "na man can schaw of quhat mater it is, metal or tree," was preserved with due care in the Abbey of Holyrood till the reign of King David Bruce, the only son of King Robert Bruce, who succeeded his father in 1329. That monarch carried it with him, when he penetrated into England, as far as Durham, in 1346, and it was secured and placed in that Cathedral after the disastrous battle fought on the 17th of October, in which the Scottish forces were entirely defeated, and the King, with many of the nobility and barons, taken prisoners.

The Canons Regular of St Augustine, or the Austin Canons, as they were called, for whom Holyrood was founded, followed chiefly the rule of the celebrated St

Augustine, Bishop of Hippo in the fourteenth century. Though they were obliged to observe the statutes of their Order, they were less austere than monks, living together under one roof, and having a common dormitory and refectory. Their habit was a long black cassock, with a white socket over it, and above the cassock a black cloak and hood. The monks were always shaved, but the Canons Regular wore beards, and were privileged to have a covering for the head.

The Abbey was founded in 1128,⁷ and though the great charter is dated in 1143,⁸ it is evident that the Canons had previously obtained possession, for in that charter they were authorized to erect a street between their church and the King's burgh, and which, as subsequently stated, was the origin of the Canongate.⁹ The site of the Abbey and Palace of Holyrood, though sufficiently romantic and sheltered in the verdant plain at the base of Salisbury Crags and Arthur's Seat, is obscure when contrasted with the splendour and elegance of the modern and extended city; but the choice, it is plain from the legend, was not left to the option of St David and his pious confessor Alwin.¹⁰ The original monastery, which has long disappeared, and its church, were constructed on the same principles which are seen in other religious houses now in ruins, only differing in architectural details. An account of its internal arrangements is preserved, which intimates that it was a most splendid edifice, and it is evident that the founder of the Abbey of Melrose would not be deficient in the decoration and embellishment of Holyrood. The church consisted of three divisions. In the east end was the great altar, which was ascended by

steps; the choir contained the pulpit, from which the epistles and gospels were read; and the nave was the place of prayer for the people.¹¹ Both the interior and exterior were imposing and ornamental, and the endowment was also most munificent. It is already observed that the Canons received a donation of the church of Edinburgh Castle, and of the ground on which they were authorized to build (*herbergare*) the future burgh of the Canongate—“*inter eandem ecclesiam*,” says David I. in his charter, referring to the church of the monastery—“*et meum burgum*.” The Canons were also endowed with the church and parish of St Cuthbert’s at Edinburgh; the barony of Broughton, now a north-eastern suburb of the city, on which, near the Water of Leith, were subsequently erected the village and mills still called the Canonmills; the lands of Inverleith, now the parish of North Leith; the chapel of Corstorphine, with thirty-six acres, and the chapel of Libberton, with thirty acres, which then belonged to St Cuthbert’s church, in the vicinity of the city; the church of Airth on the south side of the Forth, in the county of Stirling;¹² also a salt-pan and twenty-six acres in the said parish; the villages and lands of Pittendreech, Fordam, and Hamer;¹³ an hospital, with a ploughgate of land and a perpetual annuity of forty shillings out of the town of Edinburgh; for supplying the canons with apparel, one hundred shillings out of the petty tithes of Perth, from the first duties payable to the King out of the first merchant ship which arrives at Perth, and if none arrive, the sum of forty shillings out of his revenues in Edinburgh; also forty shillings out of Perth, with a house in Edinburgh free

of customs and duties; twenty shillings, with a house, and the draught of a fishing net, out of Stirling; a house in the town of Berwick; another in Renfrew, with a rood or fourth part of an acre, a draught of a net for salmon, and a herring fishery; a draught of two nets in a locality called Scypwell; as much wood as the Canons required from the royal forests in the counties of Stirling and Clackmannan; one half of the tallow, lard, and hides of animals slaughtered in Edinburgh; the tithes of "whales and sea-monsters," and of all "pleas and profits" from the river Avon, which chiefly separates the county of Stirling from that of Linlithgow, including the whole coast of the Frith of Forth to Coldbrandspath, or Cockburnspath, on the coast of the German Ocean in Berwickshire; the half of the "pleas and profits" of Kintyre and Argyll; the skins of all the rams, sheep, and lambs, which die "naturally," belonging to the royal castle of Linlithgow; eight chalders of malt, eight of meal, and thirty cart-loads of brushwood from Libberton, and one of the mills of the Dean near Edinburgh, with the tenths of the mills of Libberton and Dean, and those of the King's new mill at Edinburgh and Craigendsmark, to be held in free and perpetual alms. No person was to be allowed to harass or disturb any of the Canons, or their vassals residing on the lands, or unjustly to exact any auxiliary work or secular customs from them. The Canons, and their vassals and servants, were to be exempted from all tolls or duties; and even their swine were to be free from "pannage," or from duties charged for feeding in the royal or other woods. An annual sum of L.10 was granted for lighting and repairing the Abbey Church.


The burgesses of the Canongate, under the Canons, were to have the liberty of buying and selling goods and merchandise without molestation, and no bread, ale, or vendible commodity, was to be taken without their consent. The Abbot of Holyrood was also entitled to hold his courts of regality in as "full, free, and honourable manner," as the Bishops of St Andrews and the Abbots of Dunfermline and Kelso enjoyed their recognised privileges.¹⁴





CHAPTER II.

THE ABBOTS AND THEIR PROCEEDINGS.

HE Abbey of Holyrood received an increase of property and revenue by a charter from William the Lion, granted between 1172 and 1180, and the churches and chapels in Galloway, which of right belonged to the monastery of Icolmkill or Iona, with all their "tithes and ecclesiastical benefices," exclusive of several churches in Fife and other counties, were assigned to the Canons. The first Abbot was the founder's confessor Alwin, who resigned the Abbey in 1150, and is said to have died in 1155. He was succeeded by Osbert, whose death occurred in the year of his promotion, though his name is not in the list of Abbots in the old Ritual Book. William was Abbot in 1152, and is a frequent witness to charters during the reigns of Malcolm IV. and William the Lion. During Abbot William's rule, Fergus, then Lord of Galloway, became a Canon of the Abbey. The successor of William was Robert, who lived also in the reign of William the Lion; and this Abbot granted to the inhabitants of the newly projected burgh of the Canongate various privileges, which were confirmed, with additional benefactions, by David II., Robert III., James II., and James III. Those sovereigns granted

to the bailies and community under the Abbots the annuities payable by the burgh, and also the common muir between the lands of Broughton on the west and the lands of Pilrig on the east, on the north side of the road from Edinburgh to Leith.

The fifth Abbot of Holyrood was John, who presided over the monastery in 1173. He was witness to a charter of Richard, Bishop of St Andrews, granting to the Canons of Holyrood the church of Haddington, with the lands of Clerkington. About this time, according to Fordun, the Canons still resided in Edinburgh Castle, and in 1177, Vibian, Cardinal Presbyter and Apostolic Legate, convened the Scottish Bishops in that fortress, where many ancient canons were confirmed, and new ecclesiastical enactments enforced.¹ In 1189, however, the first year of the reign of Richard I. of England,² an assembly of the Scottish Bishops, rectors of churches, nobility, and barons, was held in the monastery of Holyrood, and this seems to have been the first meeting of any importance congregated within its walls. It was occasioned by the celebrated Cœur-de-Lion, who had invited William the Lion to his court at Canterbury, recognising the complete independence of Scotland, ordering the boundaries of the two kingdoms to be re-established as before the captivity of the Scottish King, and granting him full possession of all his fees in the earldom of Huntingdon and elsewhere on former existing conditions. It was agreed in this convention that William the Lion was to pay 10,000 merks for this restitution—a sum supposed to be equivalent to L.100,000 sterling of the present day.³ Though the clergy contributed their

share of this money, they reimbursed themselves to a certain degree by imposing a capitation tax on their tenants, which was so heavy as to induce many to elude payment by leaving their places of residence.⁴

The successor of John, as Abbot of Holyrood, was William, and during this time, in 1206, John, Bishop of Galloway, relinquished his episcopal function, and became one of the Canons. He was interred in the church, and a stone recording his name and dignity was placed over his grave. The next Abbot was Walter, Prior of Iona, who was appointed in 1210, and died in 1217. His successor was William, whose retirement is alone recorded. He was succeeded by another William, who, in 1227, on account of old age and the burden of his duties, resigned the Abbey, and retired to the island of Inchkeith, resolving to lead a solitary life; but after a residence of nine weeks he returned to the Monastery as a private monk. The next Abbot was Helias, or Elias, described as the son of Nicolas a priest—pleasant, devout, and affable, and who was interred in St Mary's Chapel, behind the great altar. He drained the marshes in the vicinity of the monastery, by which the locality was rendered more salubrious, and he surrounded the cemetery with a brick wall. Helias was succeeded by Henry, who was nominated Bishop of Galloway in 1253, after the death of Gilbert, Bishop of that see, though he was not consecrated till 1255.⁵ Ralf, or Radulph, was appointed Abbot on the removal of Henry to the see of Galloway. On the 14th of January 1255, in the reign of Alexander III., an assembly was held at Holyrood, in which the King, with advice of his magnates, settled a dispute

between David de Leuchars, Sheriff of Perth, and the Abbey of Dunfermline.⁶

Towards the close of the thirteenth century the wars of the succession to the Scottish crown were in full operation by Edward I., and the Abbot of Holyrood who had succeeded Ralf was Adam, an adherent of the English party. He did homage to Edward I. on the 8th of July 1291, and in the following month the national records were placed under his care. This Abbot was named one of the commissioners appointed by the English King in his letter to Radulphus Basset de Drayton, Governor of Edinburgh Castle, and others, regarding the appointment of commissioners for examining the Scottish records preserved in that fortress.⁷ In August 1296 Abbot Adam again did homage to Edward I., and it was apparently in his favour that the English monarch granted an order for the restoration of the abbey lands on the 2d of September following. He was Abbot in 1310, four years before which an order had been granted for the restoration of the abbey lands by the English monarch, and some writers allege that he went to France—that he was a sufferer in the cause of Bruce—and that he returned to Scotland after the battle of Bannockburn with a poetical encomium on the victor.⁸

The successor of Abbot Adam was another Helias, or Elias, who is mentioned in a transaction connected with William Lamberton, Bishop of St Andrews, and Gervase, Abbot of Newbattle, in 1316. Six years afterwards, in 1322, the Abbey of Holyrood, in common with those of Melrose and Dryburgh, was dilapidated and plundered by the army of Edward II.,⁹ who had

advanced to the vicinity of Edinburgh without opposition, in the expectation of conquering a kingdom from which famine compelled him to retreat with dishonour, as he had not even seen an enemy, and he was obliged to terminate hostilities by a truce of thirteen years.¹⁰ The indignities wantonly perpetrated on the Abbey of Holyrood are not minutely recorded, but the fact that no supplies could be obtained by the English soldiers, many of whom perished for want of food, sufficiently intimates that the conduct of the assailants must have been most outrageous and destructive. It may safely be assumed that the injuries would soon be repaired. The Abbot in 1326 was Symon, supposed to have been Symon de Wedale. On the 8th of March that year King Robert Bruce, who had then completely restored the independence of Scotland, held a Parliament in the Abbey, in which was ratified a concord between Randolph, Earl of Moray, afterwards Regent, and Sir William Oliphant, in connexion with the forfeiture of the lands of William de Monte Alto,¹¹ and it is probable that the Parliaments of the 28th of February and the 17th of March 1327 assembled in the Abbey.¹² A Parliament of a different description was held at Holyrood on the 10th of February 1333-4, when Edward Baliol rendered homage to King Edward III. of England as Lord of Scotland. On the 12th the kingdom was dismembered, and the national liberties surrendered, by the ratification of a treaty between Baliol and Edward III., by which the former became bound to serve with all his forces in the English wars. Sir Geoffrey Scrope, the Chief-Justice of England, appeared at the bar of this Parliament, which was

composed of those Anglo-Scots who had been gained by bribery, and a few who preferred Baliol's claim to the crown to that of David II., the son of King Robert Bruce. Scrope, in the name of King Edward III. as Lord Superior of Scotland, required Baliol, whom he designated "King," to perform all the "pactions, agreements, contracts, and promises between them."

The successor of Abbot Symon was John, whose name occurs as a witness to three charters in 1338; and Bartholomew was Abbot in 1342. The expedition of David II. into England, which terminated in the defeat of the Scottish army near Durham, and the capture and imprisonment of that monarch for nearly twelve years, occurred in 1346. On that occasion, as already stated, the celebrated relic of the miraculous deliverance of the saintly founder from the infuriated stag was carried from Holyrood by the invaders, in the persuasion that the presence of such an important relic would secure victory; but after it fell into the hands of the English, and was enshrined on the high altar of Durham Cathedral, it was long held in as much veneration as it could possibly have been by its Scottish owners; yet this Cross, designated the "Black Rood" of Holyrood, is very prominently noticed in the list of ornaments, plate, relics, and other valuables, found in Edinburgh Castle in 1391.¹³

Abbot Bartholomew was succeeded by Thomas, who was Abbot in 1347. On the 8th of May 1366, a council was held at Holyrood, in which a treaty of peace with England was discussed. A new coinage was ordered, and an assessment was sanctioned for the annual payments of the ransom of David II., who had returned to Scotland

in 1358. Nothing important occurs in the history of the Monastery till 1370, when David II. died in the Castle of Edinburgh, and was buried near the high altar in the Abbey Church. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the fourth son of Edward III. by Lady Blanch, younger daughter and heiress of Henry Plantagenet, Duke of Lancaster, and grandson of Edmund, second son of Henry III., was hospitably entertained in Holyrood in 1381, when he was compelled to seek refuge from his enemies. The Abbey was burnt in 1385 by Richard II. when he invaded Scotland, and encamped at Restalrig; but it appears to have been soon repaired and inhabited. Henry IV. generously spared the Monastery in 1400, on account of the kindness of the Abbot and Canons to John of Gaunt his father, declaring that he would allow no violence to be inflicted on an edifice which his paternal feelings enjoined him to respect. The successor of Thomas was John, who was Abbot on the 11th of January 1372. The next Abbot was David, who held the Abbey in 1383, in the reign of Robert II. Dean John of Leith was Abbot in 1386, and he must have been in possession a number of years, as he was a party to the indenture of the lease of the Canonmills to the burgh of Edinburgh on the 12th of September 1423. Six years afterwards, in 1429, a singular spectacle was witnessed in the Abbey Church of Holyrood. Alexander Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, who had enraged James I. by ravaging the crown lands near Inverness, and burning that town, and whom the King had issued stringent orders to apprehend, suddenly appeared in the church, on the eve of a solemn festival, in presence of the King

and his Queen and Court, which was frequently kept in the Abbey. He was dressed only in his shirt and drawers; and holding a naked sword by the point in his hand, which he surrendered, he fell on his knees, and with a countenance which expressed destitution and misery he implored the royal clemency. His life was spared, and he was committed a close prisoner to Tantallon Castle, under the charge of the Earl of Angus.¹⁴

Patrick was Abbot of Holyrood in September 1435. On the 25th of March 1438, James II., who had been born in the Abbey, and was then little more than seven years old, was conveyed from Edinburgh Castle to the church of Holyrood, and crowned with great magnificence.¹⁵ A similar ceremony was performed in the same place in July 1449, when Mary, daughter of Arnold Duke of Gueldres, and Queen of James II., was crowned. The Queen was attended by the Lord of Vere in Zealand, who was appointed by Philip the Good of Burgundy to conduct his kinswoman to Scotland; and when she landed at Leith she was received by many of the nobility, and by a large concourse of all ranks, who seemed almost barbarians to the polished Burgundians. The Queen, mounted on horseback behind the Lord of Vere, rode to Edinburgh, and was lodged in the Convent of the Grey Friars. In the course of a week after her arrival her nuptials and coronation were celebrated in the Abbey Church, with such pomp as the taste and exigencies of the time could devise.

On the 26th of April 1450, the Abbot of Holyrood was James, of whom nothing is known. Ten years





RUIN OF THE ORIGINAL NAVE OF THE ABBEY OF HOLYROOD

FROM THE EAST.

Founded 1128 — the modern work omitted.

Drawn & Engraved for H. Courty. 1847

afterwards the body of James II., who was killed by the bursting of one of the rudely constructed cannon of that age at the siege of Roxburgh Castle, was brought to Holyrood Abbey, and there interred. About the period of the lamented death of James II., Archibald Crawford, who had succeeded Abbot James probably in 1457, rebuilt the church in the style of which the nave, known as the Chapel-Royal, is the only interesting memorial. It is said that he erected the church from the foundation, and, if this statement is correct, none of the original pile commenced in 1128 by David I. now exists.

Abbot Crawford was a son of Sir William Crawford of Haining, and had been Prior of Holyrood. He was one of the commissioners sent to treat with the English at Coventry for a truce in 1459, and from that year till 1474 he was repeatedly employed in numerous treaties. In the latter year he was constituted Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, and he died in the beginning of 1483. According to the statement of his namesake,¹⁶ Abbot Crawford undertook the rebuilding of the church by the authority of James II. and the permission of Kennedy, the magnificent Bishop of St Andrews.

The church erected by Abbot Crawford was, when entire, a large and splendid edifice in the form of a cross. The outlines of the Lady Chapel, transepts, and choir, have disappeared, but enough is preserved of the nave to convey some idea of the ancient splendour of the entire edifice. The grand entrance is by a magnificent doorway on the west front, which was flanked on each side by a massive square tower. The north one still

remains, and the south tower was either destroyed when the Abbey was demolished by the Earl of Hertford, or was removed to make way for the buildings of the Palace.

On the 10th of July 1468, the Princess Margaret, then in her thirteenth year, daughter of Christian I. of Denmark, was married to James III., and crowned in the Church of Holyrood amid great rejoicings. On this occasion the hospitality of Abbot Crawford would be conspicuously displayed. His successor was Dean Robert Bellenden, who, according to his namesake and probable relative, held the Abbey sixteen years. In addition to his benevolence to the poor, it is stated that he was at the expense of the great bells, the font, twenty-four caps of gold and silk, a chalice of fine gold, several of silver, and an eucharist, and he covered the roof with lead; nevertheless the Abbot was not popular with his brethren, and he resigned the appointment, assuming until his death the habit of an ordinary monk.¹⁷ Bellenden was one of the commissioners for settling a truce with England in 1486, and he was Abbot on the 13th of September 1498.

In 1503 James IV. married the Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. of England; and it appears from the Lord Treasurer's Accounts that the Abbey of Holyrood was his principal residence when in Edinburgh.¹⁸ The Abbot, in 1515, two years after the fatal battle of Flodden, was George Crichton, Lord Privy Seal, promoted to the Bishopric of Dunkeld in 1522. He was the successor of Abbot Bellenden. When the Regent Albany administered the government during the minority of James V., he occasionally

resided in Holyrood, and there, in 1517, the widowed Queen Margaret presented herself before him, "sore weeping" on behalf of the relatives of her husband the Earl of Angus. William Douglas, Prior of Coldingham, was the successor of Bishop Crichton, and is mentioned as such in a charter dated 17th December 1527. The next Abbot was Robert Cairncross, Provost of the collegiate church of Corstorphine, and chaplain of James V. He was Lord High Treasurer in September 1528; he lost that office in the beginning of 1500, recovered it in 1537, and again lost it in March 1538-9, when he vacated the Abbey for the See of Ross, which he held with the Abbey of Fearn till his death in November 1545.


Abbot Cairncross was the last ecclesiastic of the ancient Hierarchy who presided over Holyrood, and we have thus a succession of twenty-eight of those dignitaries from the foundation of the Abbey in 1128 to 1538 or 1539, when Abbot Cairncross was promoted to the Bishopric of Ross. Robert, an illegitimate son of James V., by Euphemia Elphinstone, obtained a grant of the Abbey while an infant, and his exchange of it with Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, for the temporalities of that see, is subsequently noticed.





CHAPTER III.

HOLYROOD REBUILT BY ABBOT CRAWFURD.

 HE ruins of the Chapel-Royal indicate that the Abbey of Holyrood was originally of Norman architecture, which commenced with the conquest of England by the Normans in 1066, and succeeded to, or was blended with, the first, second, and third Gothic styles. As it respects the Chapel-Royal, the pillars at the sides of the south wall, the style of which is easily distinguished from that of the supporting buttresses, the interlacing arches and columns on the interior of both walls, many of which are remarkably beautiful, and the slight remains of the transept at the east end of the nave, show that it belonged to the Norman style.

The following is a summary of the different styles now observable in all the portions of these interesting ruins:—

NORMAN STYLE.

The *South Wall*.—The pillars at the sides of the arches of the windows.

The *North Wall*.—The spectator will readily distin-

guish the difference between the style of the wall itself and its supporting buttresses.

The *Interlacing Arches* and *Columns* on the interior of the south and north walls, many of the columns of which are very beautiful.

The slight remains of the *Transept*, at the east end of the nave, show that it also belonged to this style.

The *East Door of the Cloister* and window above it in the south wall.

SECOND GOTHIC STYLE.

Arch of Transept, at the eastern end of the south aisle. The capitals of the columns from which this arch springs are specially worthy of notice, from their beauty of design and elaborate workmanship.

The *Piers or Clustered Columns of the South Aisle*, as depicted in the view, and the interior of the great western door, are also of the second Gothic style. The following represents one of the clusters:—



THIRD OR FLORID GOTHIC STYLE.

The *Exterior of the Great Western Door*.—This portion was evidently inserted after the erection of the front. This appears by the position of the centre column between the two windows in the upper compartment, which is *off* the centre of the apex of the door—a blunder not likely to have occurred if they had been built at the same time.

MIXED STYLES.

The windows in the exterior west front are a mixture of the Saxon and Norman styles.

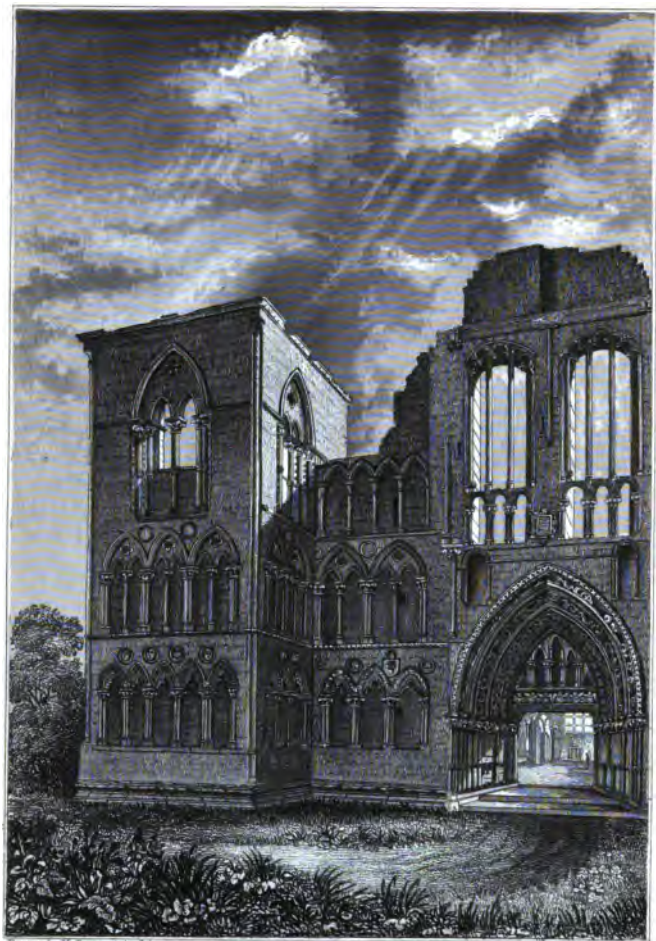
The *North Door and Buttresses* are a mixture of the second and third Gothic styles.

We proceed now to describe the remains of the Chapel-Royal as existing at the present day, beginning with the

EXTERIOR OF THE CHAPEL-ROYAL,

In which the west front is chiefly worthy of notice. It consists of a square tower fifty-three feet high, on the north side of the centre compartment, which contains the great door of the church. This door, in the palmy days of the Abbey, was only opened on particular occasions and high festivals. Here are observable various styles of architecture. The tower is of the Norman order, as appears from its ornaments, consisting of ranges of small columns and arches. Its other ornaments are figures of human heads, of very fine execution. The great door belongs





Drawn by N. Tennant Archt.

Engraved by J. Bellamy

ABBAY OF HOLYROOD

WEST FRONT

Drawn & Engraved for H Courtoy 1845

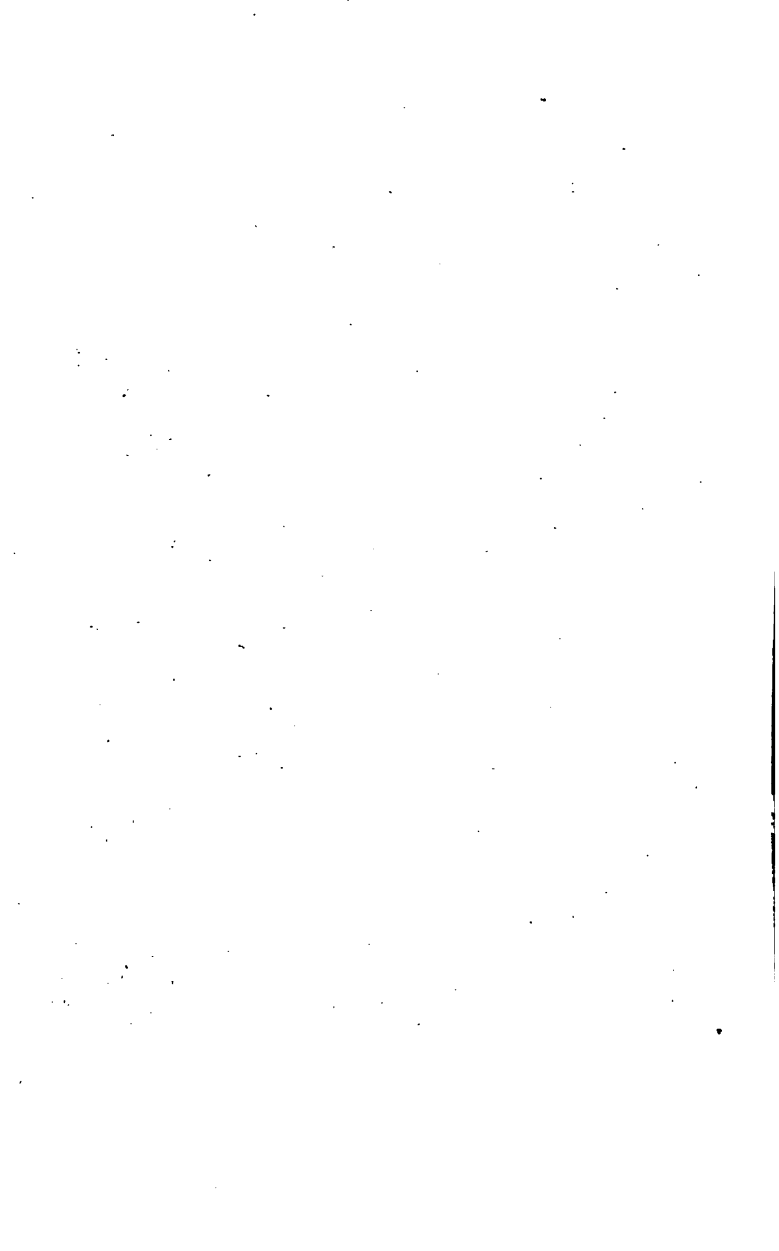
decidedly to the third or florid Gothic style; its arch is adorned with a profusion of ornamental work; and the pediment consists of a row of angels' heads in carved stone-work, supported by a solid square-cut oaken beam, which was probably inserted at the repair of the Chapel by King Charles I. in 1633. The wall above the door is evidently a mixture of the Saxon and Norman styles. In it are two large windows, semicircular in their arches, and having branching mullions. This portion is probably a remnant of that part of the abbey which was rebuilt after it was burnt by the English under Richard II. in 1381. A tablet is placed between the windows, above the door, with the following inscription:—" *He shall build an house for my name, and I will establish the throne of His kingdom for ever.—Basilicam hanc semi rutam, Carolus Rex optimus instauravit, Anno Domini MDCCCXXXIII.*" A little to the south side of this tablet is still visible the groove in which probably stood in former times a stone crucifix, indicating the dedication of the Abbey to the Holy Cross, and on the top of the wall were two turrets, one on either side of the cross, which communicated by a covered passage.

At a short distance to the west of the door-way, a beautiful glimpse of the interior is obtained through the open gateway. The fine effect of the light upon the graceful colonnade in the south and the mouldering fragments of the north aisle is specially worthy of notice, and will amply repay attention.

Leaving the west front, to the left we come before the north wall, in which also various styles are employed. The wall itself is Norman, and easily distinguished as

more ancient than its supporting buttresses, seven in number, and ornamented with canopied niches and pinnacles, which, with the door, are a mixture of the second and third Gothic styles.







Drawn by H. Tassant Arch^t

Engraved by J. West.

ABBAY OF HOLYROOD

INTERIOR LOOKING EAST.

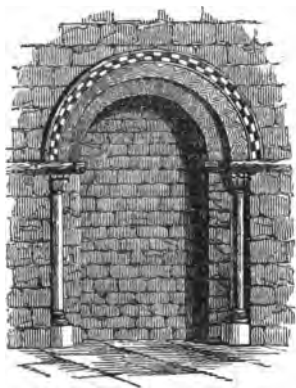
Drawn & Engraved for H. Courtoy 1847

The door and buttresses are parts of the renovation made of the Abbey by the Abbot Crawford towards the end of the 15th century. The Abbot's arms are sculptured on several of the buttresses, as memorials of his munificence while he presided over the Canons-Regular of Holyrood; but its roofless state and the action of the weather have completely shattered the walls, which are rapidly hastening to decay, and could sustain no superincumbent weight. The door in this wall was that in common use for all persons who were not inmates of the Abbey. It is elegantly ornamented, but in a far inferior manner to the great west door. At the eastern extremity the remains of the north division of the transept are visible. Turning the north-east angle, we come in front of the east wall, consisting of a beautiful window, thirty-six feet long and twenty feet broad, with a smaller window on either side. This window is a restoration, on a small scale, of the great eastern window, probably of the date of King Charles's repair in 1633. It is a fair specimen of the third Gothic style, and is very exactly represented in the engraving of the interior of the Chapel-Royal. It stands in the great centre arch of the transept, close to the nave, and the smaller windows on each side are inserted into the side arches, by which the aisles of the nave and choir communicated through the transept. The window was completely restored in 1816, when its ruins were collected from the debris around, where they had lain since 1795, when it fell down from the effects of a violent gale. This restoration has been executed so judiciously, as to excite regret that equal skill had not been exerted in former attempts to retard the decay of this ancient edifice.

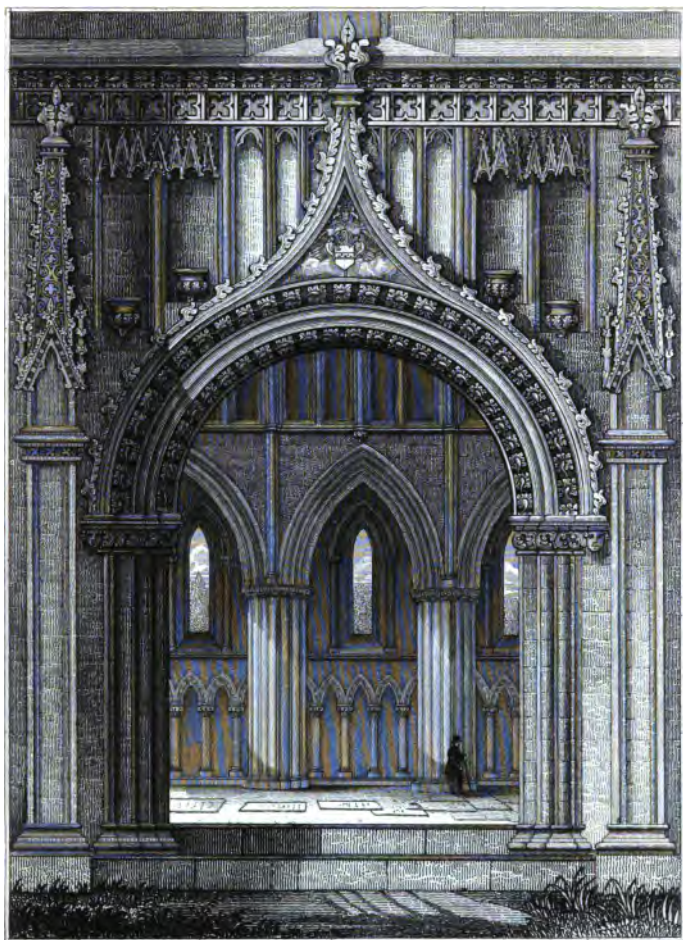
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Some sculptured screen-work, of the third Gothic style, has been collected from the rubbish which long deformed the chapel, and is placed beneath the side windows in this wall. The south wall has, like every other portion, a variety of styles. These are the Norman and the florid Gothic—the wall Norman, the beautiful flying buttresses florid Gothic, and considered a good example of this style. Buttresses also overarch the cloister, the site of which is filled, not very judiciously, by a stripe of a flower garden, the soil for which has been raised nearly four feet of the height of the walls, so that the shafts of the pillars of the east door of the cloister are buried almost to the capitals. Another door from the cloister into the nave of the church was situated at the west end, and is closed by the buildings of the Palace.

EAST DOOR OF THE CLOISTER.







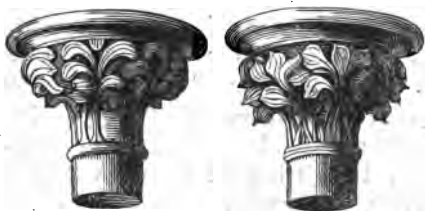
ABBAY OF HOLYROOD

NORTH ENTRANCE TO THE NAVE.

Drawn & Engraved for H. Courtoy. 1847.

THE INTERIOR OF THE CHAPEL-ROYAL.

The ruined edifice is now entered by a door on the north-east corner of the quadrangle of the Palace. Passing through this door the spectator enters the Chapel-Royal. On the right is the south aisle, still in a tolerable state of preservation, consisting of an arcade, formed by a range of arches supported by seven massive columns, each consisting of eight slender pillars, bound, as it were, together, round a thick central cylinder, each pillar having a distinct ornamental capital. This arcade is altogether in the second Gothic style, differing from that of the side wall. The capitals

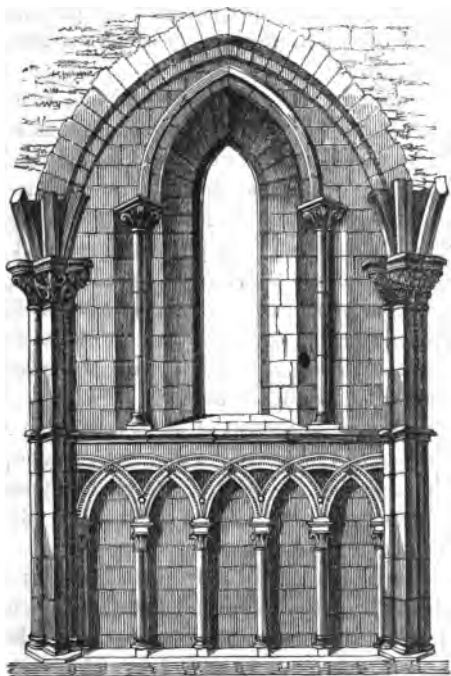


of the pillars on the wall are exceedingly beautiful, and in them may be noticed, or rather felt, a proof of the intimate knowledge of effect possessed by the cutters of those charming sculptures. The ornamental work of the capitals is hollowed in the parts by which the light enters, and produces a most pleasing effect of light and shade. The floor of this aisle is covered

by sculptured tombstones, some of them indicating the sepulture of distinguished personages, and not a few to substantial burgesses of the Canongate, who lived and died when the Chapel-Royal was used as the church of the parish of Holyroodhouse and Canongate. Proceeding along the aisle is a square oven-looking erection, filling up its whole breadth, which is a burial-vault formerly belonging to the Earls of Roxburgh. The uncouthness of such a shapeless tomb, in the elegant shrine which it deforms, is not excusable even by referring to the date of its erection—the early part of the seventeenth century. Its deformity has, however, the questionable merit of companionship, for it is only a degree more repulsive than the Royal Vault, by the side of which it is placed. Both of these erections are most unsightly, but they answer one purpose of utility, besides that for which they were built. They enable the spectator who mounts the roofs to obtain a closer view of the splendid sculptures which adorn the capitals of the arch of the Transept. From this position are obtained, better than on the floor, views of finely carved heads in the spandrels of the great arch of the Transept, now filled by the eastern window.

Of the North Aisle only two fragments of its colonnade now remain. These prove that it was of the same style as the south. The wall is ornamented with beautiful interlacing arches, which show in what manner the pointed arch sprung out of the semicircular, and also by small columns with sculptured capitals. Some of these columns, both in their shafts and capitals, closely resemble the finest specimens of the ecclesiastical architecture of the Continent.

The following engraving represents the interlacing arches, and a portion of the interior of the north wall, the latter containing a window of the lancet shape with side pillars.



A second range of columns and pointed arches are above the colonnade of the south aisle. The columns and arches are twice the number of the range beneath, and considerably smaller in proportion. This colonnade

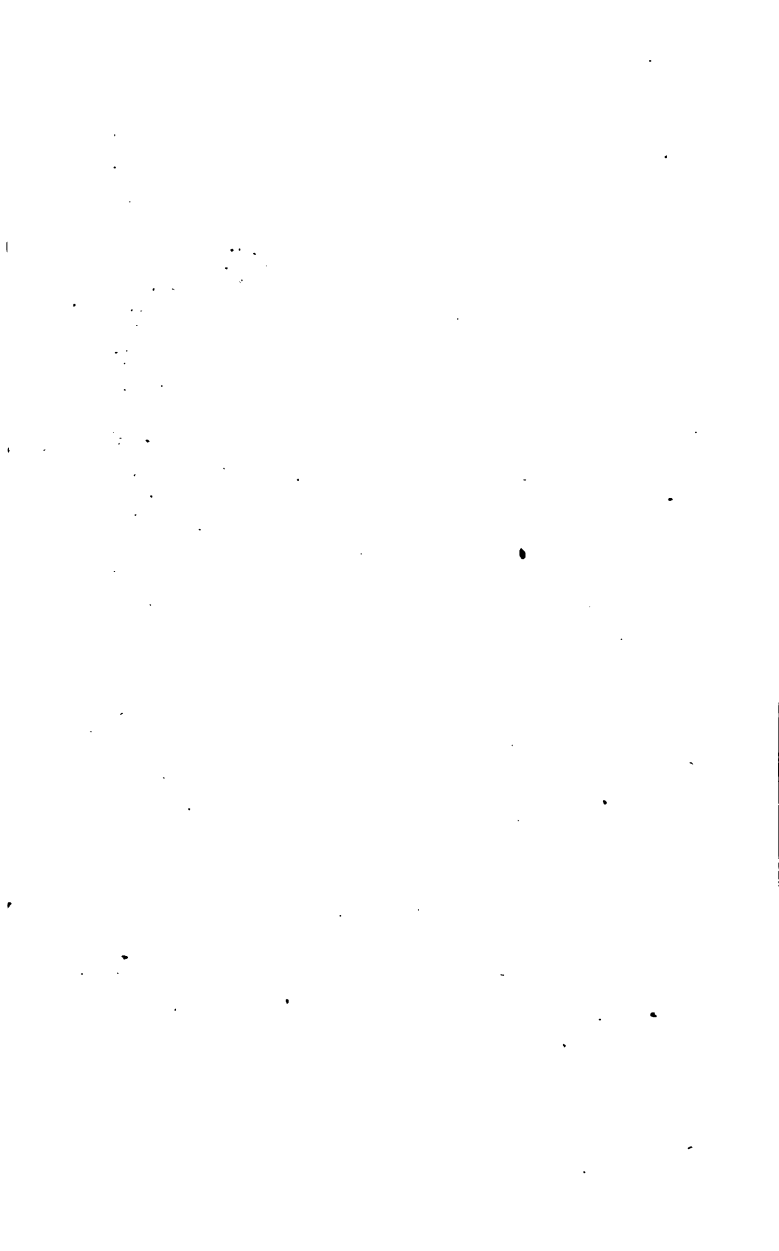
formed a gallery running the whole length of the church, which still exists, though shut up to preserve the groined roof of the aisle. The remains of a third arcade, which was open to the interior, and contained windows to light the upper parts of the building, are still visible; also a narrow gallery which was continued round the church.

In the west are the great door-way and two small doors. That nearest to the great door leads to a flight of steps, by which access is obtained to the rood-loft, where formerly the great organ stood. This place affords a convenient station for surveying at a glance the whole fabric, and it is properly protected by a railing for the safety of visitors. Proceeding along this gallery a flight of steps leads into the galleries formed by the second and third arcades, of which, as already observed, the second still exists, and the other was destroyed by the fall of the roof.

In the staircase is a flight of steps leading to one of the windows of the tower. From this window, and also from those at the back of the rood-loft, are fine views of the Calton Hill and its edifices, and glimpses of the neighbouring city.

The other door referred to leads into the tower which has probably been the belfry and vestry of the church. Here is placed a monument to Douglas, Lord Viscount Belhaven. The tower was once much higher than it now is, but its remains are still in good preservation. The bell, or at least one of the ancient bells of the Abbey, is now in the south-east tower of St Paul's Episcopal Chapel in York Place.

Of the monastic buildings apart from the Abbey





ANCIENT PORCH OF HOLYROOD HOUSE ABBEY, FROM THE EAST. A.D. 1755.

Published by H. Courtenay, Keeper of Royal Chapel Holyrood House. 3847

Church, the only vestige remaining is a mere fragment of the battlemented gate or porch which was taken down in 1755. It was in the centre of the street, at the point where the court-house and jail of the Abbey now stand. These were formerly a portion of this porch, which was of so considerable extent as to afford accommodation for the lodgings of the keeper of the Palace, and traces of its side arches may yet be discerned. The monastery, previous to the Reformation, with its buildings and offices of every description, was surrounded by a wall, of which a portion still exists eastward a few paces distant from the Watergate, where an antique circular turret is popularly known as Queen Mary's Bath.

The grounds on the north and east of the Chapel-Royal, enclosed within the magnificent cast-iron railing which now surrounds the Palace on the south and east sides, were ornamented on the occasion of George IV.'s visit to Scotland. These grounds, especially in the immediate neighbourhood of the walls of the Chapel-Royal, were formerly used as places of interment, and immense quantities of human bones have been found when any attention was bestowed on the exterior of the Chapel. The walls on the outside contain various plain monuments inserted in the walls, and on some are inscriptions. One solitary tomb, with an iron railing in front, commemorates Alexander Mylne, an eminent builder in the seventeenth century.¹

Various curious memorials of antiquity have been found from time to time among the ruins and soil of the Chapel-Royal, in connection with the former residence of the Scottish monarchs. One of the most


interesting of these is the following drawing of the Royal Arms of Scotland, probably coeval with the foundation of the Palace, taken from the original oak carving, which, though dilapidated, is preserved in the Chapel-Royal.





CHAPTER IV.

A ROYAL MARRIAGE AT HOLYROOD.

E are now at the date, so far as it can be ascertained, of the foundation of the Palace of Holyrood. It is already stated that the Monastery was often a favourite residence of the Scottish Kings during their visits to Edinburgh, but the history of the Abbey and Palace is distinct, before the locality became the fixed residence of the monarchs. Though the reputed founder of the Palace is said to have been James V., the real founder was his father James IV. The year in which the Palace was commenced cannot be ascertained, as the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer for the years preceding 1501 are lost or destroyed; but the edifice was then in progress under the superintendence of "Maister Leonard Logy,"¹ and from the 3d of March 1501-2 to the 3d of September that year he received several sums, amounting in all to L.319 : 9 : 2; but payments of larger sums to Logy are entered in the Accounts for 1502, 1503, and 1504. Other artizans were employed during those years in the erection or embellishment of the new Palace, which received the designation of "Holyroodhouse," as distinct from, though closely connected with, King David's Abbey. The state of the Palace during 1504

is ascertained from various documents which have been preserved. On the 10th of September that year is "a precept maid to Maister Leonard Logy, for his gude and thankful service done and to be done to the Kingis Hienes, and specialle for his diligent and grete laboure maid be him in the bigging of the Palace beside the Abbay of the Haly Croce, of the soume of fourty poundis of the usuall money of the realme, to be paid to him of the Kingis cofferis yerlie for all the dayis of his life, or quhill (until) he be benefit of ane hundereth merks."² The chimneys of the Palace were finished in 1504, and the tower is noticed as completed in 1505.³

The Abbey of Holyrood was at an early period of its history capable of accommodating monarchs and their retinue. Robert III. sometimes resided in it, and James I. occasionally held his Court within its precincts. James II. was born, crowned, married, and interred in it, and James III. was a frequent inmate of the Monastery, in which were celebrated his nuptials with Margaret of Denmark, and also her coronation. James IV. is previously mentioned as the founder of the Palace. The connection of James V. with the enlarging of Holyroodhouse is subsequently narrated.

While the erection of the Palace was in progress, an English Princess, from whom were to descend a long and illustrious line of sovereigns of the British Empire, appeared as an affianced bride within the hallowed portals of Holyrood, and doubtless the new Palace would be duly prepared for her reception. This was on the 7th of August in the year 1503, when the Princess Margaret and her train of English nobles first entered

the metropolis of her future husband James IV., and was received with the respect due to the royal daughter of Henry VII. The "Fyancells" of the Princess in the royal manor of Richmond on St Paul's Day, the 25th of January 1502, her departure from England, her journey into Scotland, her reception and marriage, are minutely narrated by John Younge, Somerset Herald, who attended her during her progress.⁴ The Princess began her journey northwards on the 27th of June 1503, and travelled by easy stages, chiefly on horseback, though she had a "rych lytter borne by two faire coursers very nobly drest," and also a char or coach for her use. In her approach to the Scottish Border she was escorted and entertained with the respect due to her exalted rank, and at Berwick a salute of artillery announced her arrival. She was met at Lamberton church, near the English Border, by the deputed Scottish nobility and a train of one thousand attendants, five hundred of whom were mounted on horseback. Her stages in Scotland were Fast Castle, Haddington, and Dalkeith, in the Earl of Morton's Castle of which latter place James IV. first met her, accompanied by sixty of the nobility. The King returned to Edinburgh that evening, and the Princess remained four days, partly in the Castle of Dalkeith, and partly in the adjoining Abbey of Newbattle, where she was daily visited and diverted by her royal bridegroom. On the morning of the 7th of August, the Princess set out for Edinburgh in her litter, and the King met her half-way, splendidly arrayed, on horseback, the Earl of Bothwell carrying the Sword of State, and followed by Archbishop Blackadder of Glasgow, Bishop

Foreman of Moray, and a numerous cavalcade. The King dismounted from his own charger, and leaped into the saddle of the palfrey of the Princess, placing her close behind him, and in this manner they entered Edinburgh, amid rejoicings and fantastic pageants; a fountain of wine, which was free to all, playing at the Cross, and the windows of the houses gorgeously ornamented with tapestry. The ornaments displayed were "Paris and the three Deessys" or goddesses, which was oddly blended with the Salutation of the Angel Gabriel to the Virgin, and the four allegorical Virtues—Justice, Force, Temperance, and Prudence. When the King and his bride passed St Giles's church, the Provost and Prebendaries appeared in their vestments, and presented the reputed arm of the tutelary Saint of the city, which the King kissed, and then began to sing *Te Deum Laudamus*. Before arriving at this locality the King had to encounter at the foot of the West Bow the Grey Friars, who issued from their Monastery armed with relics, which he refused to salute before the Queen.

The royal pair proceeded through the city on horseback to the Church of Holyrood, and the proceedings when they entered within its walls are duly chronicled by the loyal Somerset Herald, though his style and orthography are barbarous. They were met at the church by the Archbishop of St Andrews,⁵ his cross carried before him, attended by the Bishop of Aberdeen, Lord Privy Seal,⁶ the Bishops of Orkney, Caithness, Ross, Dunblane, and Dunkeld,⁷ and a number of Abbots in their pontificals, and the Abbot and Canons of Holyrood in costly vestments, preceded by their cross.

The Archbishop of St Andrews presented his royal brother with a relic to kiss, but we are told that "he did as he had done before," which may either mean that he complied, as in the case of the arm of St Giles, or that he refused, as in the case of the relics displayed by the Grey Friars at the foot of the West Bow.

The whole cavalcade dismounted, and entered the Abbey church in procession. The King took the hand of the Princess, and after an humble reverence led her to the high altar, where two kneeling cushions covered with cloth of gold were placed, and the King and his bride both knelt together, the former declining to kiss a cross which was presented to him by the Archbishop of St Andrews, and *Te Deum* was sung by the choir. The Earls of Huntly, Erroll, Marischal, Argyll, Lennox, and Morton, with many others of the nobility, knights, and gentlemen, are mentioned as present, and rendering obeisance to the bride, which she returned. Having performed their devotions, the King in a most loving manner conducted the Princess out of the church through the cloister to her apartments in the adjoining Palace. After a brief space the Princess was brought by the King into the great hall, where she was introduced to a numerous company of Scottish ladies of rank, each of whom she kissed, the Bishop of Moray⁸ attending her, and telling her their names; after which ceremony the King again saluted her, and with low courtesy, and uncovered, he conducted her to her apartments, where he embraced her and took his leave. He supped in his private chamber with a number of the English attendants of the Princess, after which he returned to his bride, and indulged for a time in

dancing. The King then retired, bidding her " joyously good night."

On the 8th the royal nuptials were celebrated at Holyrood. Between eight and nine in the morning the ladies, the nobility, and the persons of all ranks, convened on the occasion, were arrayed in rich apparel, and duly prepared for the important ceremonial. The precincts of Holyrood were crowded with spectators, and displayed the utmost animation and excitement. The Bishop of Moray waited on the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham. The Earl of Surrey, Lords Grey, Latimer, Dacres, and Scroope, Sir Richard Poole, Knight of the Garter, Sir Davis Owen, Sir William Conyers, Sir Thomas D'Arcy, Sir John Huse, and other noblemen and knights, appeared in splendid dresses, wearing their collars and chains of gold, and were presented by the Bishop of Moray to the King, who received them standing in his great chamber, and acknowledged their courtesies. After the usual salutations the King ordered them to be seated, and to cover their heads, placing the Archbishop of York on his right hand, and the Earl of Surrey on his left. The King himself occupied a chair of crimson velvet, the panels of which were gilt, under a superb cloth of estate of blue velvet figured with gold. On his right were the Archbishop of St Andrews and the other Bishops of Scotland, the Prior of the Order of the Knights Templars, and many ecclesiastics and laymen of high rank; and on his left were ranged the nobility, knights, and gentlemen, and the Heralds of England in their coats. Dr Raulins delivered an oration, which was briefly answered by Dr Muirhead, Dean of Glasgow, the

King's Secretary; and at the conclusion every person present rendered homage or reverence to the King, who acknowledged the same, and withdrew to his own apartments in the Palace. The Archbishop of St Andrews and the Bishop of Aberdeen then conducted the ladies, noblemen, and knights to the bride's chambers; and soon afterwards the Princess entered the Abbey church wearing a crown of gold ornamented with pearls and other precious stones, supported on the right by the Archbishop of York, and on the left by the Earl of Surrey, her train borne by the Countess of Surrey, assisted by a gentleman-usher, and attended by numerous ladies in splendid dresses.⁹

The Princess was placed near the font, her attendants occupying the north side of the church; and the Archbishop of Glasgow, accompanied by other Prelates and ecclesiastical dignitaries, stationed himself at the high altar. The King next appeared, with the Officers of State, the Nobility, and a large assemblage, Lord Hamilton carrying the Sword.¹⁰ The Archbishop of York read the papal bulls, and the marriage was performed by the Archbishop of Glasgow. The King then led the Queen to the high altar, and divine service was celebrated with all the pomp of the Roman ritual. At the reading of the Gospel the royal pair made their offering, the Queen was anointed, and the sceptre was placed in her hand by the King. The hymn *Te Deum* was then sung, and during the celebration of Mass the cloth of estate was held over them by two of the Bishops.

A banquet was given in the Palace, at which the Queen was first served, and the Archbishop of Glasgow

had the honour of an invitation to her table.¹¹ The Archbishops of St Andrews and York, the Bishop of Durham, and the Earl of Surrey, dined with the King. A "largesse" was then proclaimed three times by Marchmont Herald in the King's chamber, the great hall, and the hall of audience, "to the high and mighty Princess Margaret, by the grace of God Queen of Scotland, and first daughter engendered of the very high and mighty Prince Henry VII., by that self-same grace King of England." Some details follow of the internal decorations and furniture of Holyrood, and of the amusements of the marriage party, such as games, dances, and the musical efforts of "Johannes and his company," after which the King went to vespers in the Abbey Church attended both by the Scottish and English Nobility, the Queen remaining in the Palace. This was succeeded by a supper, which concluded the festivities of the day, while the citizens of Edinburgh evinced their loyalty by numerous bonfires and other demonstrations.

On the 9th a numerous assemblage of ladies, noblemen, and knights, convened at Holyrood. At ten in the morning the King went to Mass in the Abbey church in grand procession, accompanied by the Nobility then present, the Earl of Huntly carrying the Sword of State. The subsequent amusements of this day are not recorded, with the exception that the royal dinner was "brought and served in silver vessels by the officers and personages in such manner as the day before. After dinner a young man, an Italian," continues the worthy Somerset Herald, "played before the King on a cord very well. Nigh to him at the

windows were my Lord (Archbishop) of York, the Earl of Surrey, the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Bishop of Durham, and many other lords. The ladies, accompanied by lords and knights, were at the windows towards the Queen's quarters, and after the game was done they began to dance. Touching the Queen I say nothing, for that same day I saw her not, but I understand she was in good health and mere." A supper followed, the profusion at which was by no means in accordance with a day enjoined by the Church to be observed in abstinence; and during the evening the Queen delivered her "robe of marriage" to the Scottish Heralds, which was returned to her on the following day by Marchmont Herald, and they were complimented with a sum of forty nobles for largess when they "brought again the said robe into the wardrobe of the said Queen, as she desired in her recompensing."

On the 10th, which was St Laurence's day, James IV. and his Queen, preceded by the Earl of Huntly carrying the Sword, attended divine service in great state in what is called the "High Church," but whether this indicates the Abbey church, or St Giles's in the High Street, is uncertain. After the celebration of Mass, the King, in compliment to the Queen, created forty-one knights, and after the ceremony he presented them to his consort, saying—"Lady, these are your knights." He then took her by the hand, returned to the Palace, and conducted her to her own apartments. After dinner a tilting match was held in the court-yard of the Palace, which the King witnessed from the richly decorated windows, attended by the

Archbishops of St Andrews and York, the Bishop of Durham, and other prelates, and the Queen and her ladies were also spectators. A platform was erected, on which were the Earls of Surrey and Bothwell. The challengers were Lords Kilmaurs and "Treithoun," assisted by Sir Alexander Seton, the Master of Montgomery, Sir Patrick Hamilton, and Sir John of Treytoun.¹² Their opponents were Lords Hamilton and Ross, the former the King's cousin, attended by Sir David Home, William Cockburn of Langton, and Patrick Sinclair. After the tournament the King and Queen retired to supper, and the festivities of the day concluded with dancing.

On the 11th the King again went to the Abbey Church, Lord Hamilton carrying the Sword. The Queen remained in her apartment till the hour of dinner, after which she danced with the King, and a tilting match was performed by six persons, the royal pair beholding the rencontre from the windows of the Palace. After supper "John Inglish and hys companyons" played in the Queen's principal apartment before the royal pair. The 12th was spent in a similar manner, the King as usual attending the Abbey church; and on the 13th, which was Sunday, the Queen was led to Mass by the Bishops, the Earl of Surrey, the Lord Chamberlain, and her ladies, the train of the Countess of Surrey borne by Sir John Home. The King followed, arrayed in splendid attire, and after Mass the Marchmont Herald presented Lord Hamilton, who was created Earl of Arran, and honours were conferred on William Earl of Montrose and Cuthbert Earl of Glencairn. The King and the Queen then returned

into the Palace, and the Earl of Surrey and others of the nobility dined at the royal table. After dinner "a moralitie was played by the said Master Inglishe and his companyons in the presence of the Kyng and Quene, and their daunces were daunced." At the customary hour the King went to vespers, after which it was intended to create twenty-six knights, but on account of the absence of the Queen this was delayed till the following day for the "luffe of hyr." After vespers the King entered his apartments in the Palace, and sat down to supper, and "that done, every man went his way."¹⁸

Such was a royal marriage at Holyrood in 1503, which is celebrated by the Scottish poet Dunbar in an allegory of great merit entitled the "Thistle and the Rose." Different was the scene of the next nuptials celebrated within the Abbey Church, which were those of Queen Mary and Lord Darnley, and her still more unhappy union with the Earl of Bothwell within the walls of the Palace. And yet twelve years afterwards this Queen Margaret, who was honoured with public shows, feasts, carousals, and dances at her marriage, was seen presenting herself to the Regent Albany in her deceased consort's Palace of Holyrood, depressed by grief, and in vain requesting his mercy for her counsellors Lord Drummond, the maternal grandfather of her second husband the Earl of Angus, who had been committed to Blackness Castle, and for Gawin Douglas the future Bishop of Dunkeld, who was then a prisoner in the sea-tower of St Andrews.

Some of the internal decorations of the Palace of Holyrood are casually mentioned by the English Herald.

The hangings, or tapestry, of the "great chamber" represented the "hystory of Troy toune," and "in the glassyn windowes were the armes of Scotland and England byparted, with the difference beforesayd, to which a chardon, and a rose interlassed through a croune, was added." In the King's "great chamber" were displayed the "story of Hercules togider with other hystorys." The hall in which the Queen's attendants and company were assembled also contained the history of Hercules on tapestry; and in both the apartments were "grett syerges of wax for to lyght at even."

Holyrood was the chief residence of James IV., on the erection and embellishment of which he expended considerable sums before his death at the fatal battle of Flodden in 1513. In 1515, John Duke of Albany, Governor of the kingdom during that monarch's minority, resided in Holyrood after his arrival from France, and continued the deceased King's enlargement of the edifice. He built a tower in the Palace,¹⁴ in which he imprisoned Alexander third Lord Home in 1515 for joining the party of the Queen-Dowager and her husband the Earl of Angus, and declaring for the English interest. In 1516, Albany erected a "turnpike" or staircase in the Palace.¹⁵ Sir John Sharp, one of the chaplains, was at this time keeper of Holyrood, with an annual salary of ten merks, and an occasional allowance for a gown at Christmas. He held this office for upwards of twenty years during the reign of James V.

It is thus evident that to ascribe the foundation of the Palace of Holyrood to James V. is most erroneous, and yet all the local historians of Edinburgh have


adopted this mistake. The Palace, in reality, appears to have been only an occasional residence of James V., who, however, after he assumed the government authorized the payment of several sums towards its "reparation," or for the completion of the "new work in the Abbey of Halyrudehouse," under the superintendence of John Scrimgeour, Master of Works. The portions of the Palace erected by James V. or in his reign are generally understood to be the towers at the north-west corner, forming a part of what are commonly called Queen Mary's Apartments, and in the lower part of a niche in one of which could long be traced the inscription—JAC. V. REX SCOTORUM. The additions now mentioned are said to have been designed by Sir James Hamilton of Finnart.





CHAPTER V.

JAMES V. AT HOLYROOD.

N the 26th of July 1524, James V., then in his thirteenth year, and his mother, the Queen-Dowager, suddenly left Stirling, accompanied by a few attendants, and entered Edinburgh, where they were received with great acclamations by the citizens. A procession was formed to the Palace of Holyrood, and proclamations were issued announcing that the King had assumed the government; but his actual and independent authority was not exercised till four years afterwards, when he was in his seventeenth year, and during that interval the Queen-Dowager, Archbishop Beaton of St Andrews, who had filled the high office of Lord Chancellor, and the Earl of Angus, the successor of the Archbishop as Lord Chancellor, were actually, though not in name, the Regents. After the display at Holyrood, the Queen-Dowager retained the young monarch in the Castle of Edinburgh without any personal restraint; the Archbishop and Angus conducting public affairs. The latter marked the first commencement of his authority by assigning the Abbey of Holyrood in 1524 to his brother William Douglas, who was already the intruding possessor of that of Coldingham, and who retained both till his death in

1528, the year in which James V. began his reign in person. In 1534 the future Cardinal David Beaton, then Abbot of Arbroath, and the administrator of the affairs of the Primacy for his uncle whom he succeeded, was a second time sent to France on a mission to renew the alliance with Scotland, and to adjust the preliminaries of the marriage of James V. Before his departure he secured the appointment of an ecclesiastical commission during his absence for the cognizance of heretics—which was by no means difficult, for the King had publicly declared his resolution to punish all innovators of religion, and not to spare even his own relatives. In the month of August 1534 a meeting of this ecclesiastical court was held in the Abbey of Holyrood, at which James V. was present, clothed in scarlet. James Hay, Bishop of Ross, in the absence of the Abbot of Arbroath, sat as commissioner for the Archbishop of St Andrews. Several persons were cited before this court, some of whom recanted, and performed the ceremony of burning their faggots. The brother and sister of Patrick Hamilton, who had been incriminated for heresy at St Andrews, were summoned; but the King advised the former to leave Scotland for a time, as he could not save him—the Bishops, he alleged, having proved to him that heresy was not within his prerogative. The lady, however, appeared, and a long theological discussion ensued between her and Spens of Condie, afterwards Lord Advocate, on the subject of good works. She abruptly concluded the examination by exclaiming, to the great annoyance of Spens, and the amusement of the auditors—"Work here, work there, what kind of work is all this? I

know perfectly that no kind of works can save me, but only the works of Christ my Lord and Saviour." The King turned his head, and laughed aloud at the zeal of the fair disputant, who was his near relative, and his influence saved her from farther trouble. Nevertheless two convictions were pronounced on this occasion in the Abbey of Holyrood. The unfortunate persons were David Straiton, the brother of the Laird of Lauriston in Forfarshire, and a priest named Norman Gourlay. They were led to the stake on the 27th of August at the rood or cross of Greenside, on the north side of the Calton Hill, where they met their fate with constancy and resolution.

On the 29th of October 1536 it was determined that James V. should marry the youthful Princess Magdalene, daughter of Francis I. of France, and on the 26th of November, when the bride's dowry of 100,000 crowns and her pension of 30,000 livres were arranged, the perpetual alliance between France and Scotland was renewed. James V. left the Palace of Holyrood in December, and on the 1st of January 1536-7 he was married to the Princess in the church of Notre-Dame at Paris, in the presence of the Kings of France and Navarre, several Cardinals, and a brilliant assemblage of rank and beauty. On the 19th of May, the eve of Whitsunday, James V. and his Queen landed at Leith, where she lifted a handful of sand to her mouth, and prayed for happiness to her adopted people; and proceeding to Edinburgh, arrived at the Palace of Holyrood accompanied by processions and decorations, and amid the most enthusiastic acclamations. But disease had undermined the constitution of the young Queen, and

within forty days she was consigned a lifeless corpse to the royal vault in the Abbey church of Holyrood. So intense was the regret at the untimely death of Queen Magdalene, that it occasioned a public lamentation, and Buchanan, who was an eye-witness, mentions the event as the first instance of mourning dresses having been worn in Scotland.

In 1538, the Scottish King assigned several of the richest abbeys and priories to three of his illegitimate children then infants. Robert, one of them by Euphemia, daughter of Lord Elphinstone, was appointed Abbot of Holyrood. By this arrangement James V. was entitled to draw the revenues till the nominal possessors arrived at the age of maturity.

The second Queen of James V. was Mary of Guise, the mother of Queen Mary, who was married to the Scottish King in the cathedral church of St Andrews in June 1538. Mary of Guise appears to have resided seldom at Holyrood, the Palace of Linlithgow, her jointure, having been her favourite resort. This Princess, however, was crowned in the Abbey church, of which some notices occur in the Lord Treasurer's Accounts.¹ After the willing rout of his army on the shore of the Solway Frith, James V. avoided Holyrood Palace on his return, and proceeded to Falkland, where he expired on the 14th of December 1542, seven days after the birth of his only surviving child and successor, Queen Mary—an event which afforded him no consolation, and rather increased the anguish of his last moments.²

The first great calamity which befell the Abbey and Palace of Holyrood happened in 1543, when both were plundered and considerably injured by the English

during the Earl of Hertford's invasion by sea. In this expedition Sir Henry Lee, knight, the "master of the pioneers," carried away a brazen font, supposed to have been the one erected by Abbot Bellenden, which he placed, with an inflated Latin inscription, in the church of St Albans, where it remained till it was sold and destroyed in the Civil War.³ According to the authority cited by Sir Walter Scott,⁴ the entire Abbey of Holyrood was destroyed except the body of the church, to which may be added the north-west towers of the Palace. Whatever was the extent of the injury which the Abbey then sustained, it was speedily repaired, only to be more effectually demolished a second time during the expedition of the Protector Somerset, after the fatal battle of Pinkie, in 1547. Sir Walter Bonham and Edward Chamberlain obtained licence to "suppress" the Abbey, and at their first visitation they found that the monks had fled. The Abbey church and most of the monastery were amply covered with lead, which the English seized, and also two bells. The third calamity which befell the Abbey was at the Reformation, when it was spoiled by the mob, and the Palace plundered, on the 29th of June 1559. The fate of the monks is not known. One of them, named John Brand, conformed to the Reformation, and is designated "Minister of Holyroodhouse," which means the present parish of the Canongate. He married, and had a son, who perished by the hands of the executioner at the Cross of Edinburgh, on the 20th of May 1615, for killing William King, an illegitimate son of an advocate named James King, on St Leonard's Hill, opposite Salisbury Crags. He is designated "John

Brand, student in the Colledge of Philosophie of Edinburgh, sone to umquhile John Brand, minister at Halyrudhous."⁵


The history of the Monastery of Holyrood terminates at the Reformation, before which the Canons had been dispersed, their residences destroyed, and their church dilapidated. The subsequent events are connected with the Palace, and with that portion of the Abbey church afterwards known as the Chapel-Royal, which is the nave of the former church, used for a century and a half afterwards as the parish church of the Canongate. The foundations of the transepts, choir, and chancel of the original structure, are now scarcely traceable. Though Holyrood, during each successive reign from that of David I., obtained numerous immunities, grants, and revenues, which rendered it one of the most opulent religious houses in Scotland, its annual rental, as stated at the Reformation, was only about L.250 sterling in money; but the other sources of income were valuable, consisting of payments of victual, fowls, fish, salt, and other emoluments.⁶





CHAPTER VI.

QUEEN MARY AT HOLYROOD.

HE Palace became the ordinary residence of Queen Mary after her return from France in 1561, and here occurred those events in her tragical career which connect her life with Holyrood, and invest its deserted apartments with an absorbing interest. Her marriage to Darnley in the Abbey church, the murder of Riccio almost in her presence, the tumult in the court-yard which announced the destruction of her husband at the Kirk-of-Field in the vicinity, and her marriage to Bothwell in the hall of the Palace—each calamity following in rapid succession—render Holyrood a monument of her unhappy fate. As characteristic of the times, moreover, the windows of the Palace seem to have been secured after the manner of a prison, and the marks of the iron bars are still visible on the outside sills and sides of the windows of the Queen's apartments.

Queen Mary landed at Leith as Sovereign of Scotland in her own right, and the widowed Dowager of France, on the morning of the 19th day of August 1561. The Queen had successfully eluded Elizabeth's projects to intercept her at sea, but her early arrival on the 19th was unexpected, and the weather was so dark and

stormy that the ships were not seen in the anchorage of Leith Roads for the fog. Mary was accompanied by her three uncles, the Duke d'Aumale, the Marquis d'Elbeuf, and the Grand Prior of France, who was the commander of the galleys, Monsieur d'Anville, the heir of the Constable Montmorency, and several French gentlemen of inferior note. The Queen rode direct to Edinburgh in a kind of rude procession, and passed through the city to Holyrood.¹ The Queen's "honourable reception" at Leith by the Earl of Argyll, Lord Erskine, Lord James Stuart, and others, who conveyed her to Holyrood, is mentioned by contemporary writers, and Knox records the "fires of joy set furth at night," and a serenade with which she was regaled under her "chalmers window." The "melodie, as she alledged, lyked her weill, and she willed the same to be continued some nychts efter with grit diligence." But Dufresnoy, one of Mary's attendants, thought very differently of the display, and more especially of the music of the Scottish minstrels. The Queen, he says, rode on horseback from Leith to Edinburgh, and "the lords and ladies who accompanied her upon the little wretched hackneys of the country as wretchedly caparisoned, at sight of which the Queen began to weep, and to compare them with the pomp and superb palfreys of France. There was no remedy but patience. What was worst of all, when arrived at Edinburgh, and retired to rest in the Abbey, which is really a fine building, and not at all partaking of the rudeness of that country, there came under her window a crew of five or six hundred scoundrels from the city, who gave her a serenade with wretched violins and little rebecks,

of which there are enough in that country, and began to sing psalms so miserably mistimed and mistuned, that nothing could be worse. Alas! what music, and what a night's rest!"

When Queen Mary arrived at Holyrood from Leith on the 19th of August, the only person of distinction waiting to receive her was Lord Robert Stuart, one of her illegitimate brothers, whose residence as Lay-Abbot or Commendator was within the precincts of the Palace. The Queen went to his house, and issued orders to assemble the nobility, who had been previously summoned to meet on the last day of that month.² Probably Lord Robert's house was the only one suitable for her temporary reception, for, though the Queen brought her jewels with her, her tapestry and other furniture for the Palace were not delivered till some days afterwards, and her horses were detained at Berwick. The mortification which she was compelled to endure on account of her religion was manifested on the first Sunday after her arrival at Holyrood, which was St Bartholomew's day, the 24th of August. Due preparations were made to celebrate Mass in the Chapel-Royal, at which the Queen was to be present, and no sooner was this known than a mob rushed towards the edifice, exclaiming—"Shall the idol be again erected in the land?" Men of rank encouraged this riot, and Lord Lindsay, along with some gentlemen of Fife, pressed into the court of the Palace, shouting—"The idolatrous priests shall die the death!" The Queen, astonished and trembling, requested her illegitimate brother Lord James Stuart, then Prior of St Andrews, who was in attendance, to allay the tumult. With the utmost difficulty,

notwithstanding his popularity as a leading Reformer, he vigorously interfered, and under the excuse of preventing the contamination of the assailants at the sight of "idolatry," he placed himself at the door of the chapel, and at the hazard of his life restrained the fury of the mob. Though the service was continued in quietness, at its conclusion new disorders were excited.

On the 31st of August a banquet was given to Mary and her relatives by the city of Edinburgh, and on the 2d of September the Queen made her public entry, and was entertained in the Castle by Lord Erskine, the Governor of the fortress. On the same day John Knox had an audience of Mary, who had been informed of a furious sermon he preached against the mass on the preceding Sunday in St Giles's church, and who seems to have supposed that a personal conference would mitigate his sternness. It appears, however, from Knox's own admission, that his sermon was not relished by the majority of his audience, who maintained that he had "departed from his subject," and that it was a "very untimely admonition." Knox presented himself at Holyrood, and when admitted into the presence of Mary, he found only Lord James Stuart in attendance. The interview commenced with the Queen accusing him for his book on the government of women,³ and his intolerance towards every one who differed from him in opinion, and she requested him to obey the precepts of the Scriptures, a copy of which she perceived in his possession, desiring him to "use more meekness in his sermons." Knox in reply "knocked so hastily upon her heart that he made her weep."⁴ Such were the agitation, fear, and disquietude of the Queen, that

Lord James Stuart attempted to soothe her feelings, and to soften the language she had heard. Amid tears of anguish and indignation she said to Knox—"My subjects, it would appear, must obey you and not me; I must be subject to them, not they to me." After some farther altercation, in which Knox comported himself with most reprehensible boldness, he was dismissed from the royal presence, and he left Holyrood, convinced that Mary's soul was lost for ever—that her conversion was hopeless, because she continued "in her massing, and despised and quickly mocked all exhortation." When asked his opinion of the Queen by some of his friends, he said—"If there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty art, and obdurate heart against God and his Word, my judgment faileth me; and this I say with a grieved heart for the good I wish unto her, and by her to the church and state.⁵





CHAPTER VII.

QUEEN MARY'S PROGRESSES TO AND FROM HOLYROOD.

MARY made her first royal progress on the 11th of September,¹ when she left Holyrood on horseback after dinner, and proceeded successively by Linlithgow, Stirling, Alloa, Culross, to Perth, Dundee, St Andrews, and Falkland, returning to Holyrood on the 29th. Knox most erroneously dates the Queen's visit to the Castle after this excursion, which he terminates in the beginning of October. Though Knox and Buchanan repeatedly mention the profligacy of Mary's court at this time without any sufficient reason, it must be confessed that the pastimes occasionally exhibited at Holyrood were not always the most dignified. One of them is recorded as occurring on a Sunday in December 1561, in presence of the Queen. Lord Robert Stuart, his half-brother Lord John Stuart, both "Abbots"—the one of Holyrood, the other of Coldingham—the French Marquis D'Elbeuf, uncle of the Queen, and others to the number of six on each side, disguised the one half like women, and the other in masks, performed a game at the ring, in which the party in female habiliments, headed by Lord Robert, were the victors; and yet this same Lord Robert had cruelly beaten one of the priests who officiated in

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the Chapel-Royal on Hallowmas Eve, or All Saints' day, and it was proposed to allow none to attend the Queen at divine service, under "pain of confiscation of goods and lands," except those who came with her from France.

Early in the spring of 1562 the Queen again left Holyrood to enjoy the pleasures of hawking and other amusements at Falkland and St Andrews. In the beginning of May the Queen returned to the Palace, where in July she received Sir Henry Sidney, an accomplished statesman sent by Elizabeth. On one occasion, while conversing with Sidney in the garden of Holyrood, and attended by her Court, one Captain Heiborne approached, and delivered to her a packet, which Mary handed to Lord James Stuart, recently created Earl of Mar. The Earl, who at first took no particular notice of it, at last opened the packet, which he found to contain some ribald verses and an insulting picture. The Queen was informed of the odious contents on the following day, and felt so severely this insult before the English ambassador that she became sick while at mass. Meanwhile the perpetrator of the outrage escaped, and though Randolph wrote to the Governor of Berwick to apprehend him, he is not farther noticed.

The avocations and amusements of Mary at Holyrood about this period are prominently noticed. After dinner she read Livy and other ancient histories with George Buchanan, and she had a library, two globes, one celestial and the other terrestrial, six geographical charts, and pictures of her mother, her father, her husband Francis II., and the Constable of France. The

Queen was a chess-player, and she greatly delighted in hawking and shooting at the butts. Mary had also two gardens at Holyrood, one on the north and the other on the south side of the Palace. In her household were minstrels and singers, and the first introduction of Riccio to the Scottish court was to supply a vacancy among the latter, a bass having been required to sing in concert with the others. In 1561 and in 1562 the Queen had five players on the viol, and three players on the lute. In the chapel of Holyrood were a "pair of organs," for which, in February 1561-2, the sum of L.10 was paid, by the Queen's command, to William Macdowall, Master of Works, who had recovered and carefully preserved them, after the sum of L.36 had been paid in February 1557-8 by the Treasurer to David Melville of Leith. As it respects Mary's feminine recreations, she was sedulously employed at Holyrood with her needle, and tradition often mentions her industrial performances. She was attended in her private apartments by her four Marys—viz. Mary Fleming, Mary Bethune, Mary Livingstone, and Mary Seton, but Mademoiselle de Pinguillon is noticed as her chief lady. In the Palace were a cloth of gold, tapestry, carpets, chairs and stools covered with velvet and adorned with fringes, vessels of glass, and her jewels,² a few of which were afterwards recovered by legal proceedings for the infant King James VI. by the Regent Morton. No plate is mentioned, yet that Mary had silver articles of value is proved from the fact that they were coined by those who dethroned her to pay the expenses of their insurrection.

On the 11th of August 1562 Queen Mary and her

retinue left Holyrood on a progress as far north as Inverness. This ill-fated journey occasioned the temporary ruin of the Earl of Huntly and his family. Huntly himself fell in the insurrectionary conflict in the vale of Corriche, nearly twenty miles west of Aberdeen; his dead body was brought to Edinburgh by sea, and deposited in a vault in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, whence it was removed to the Monastery of the Black Friars in Edinburgh, where it continued till it was conveyed to the family sepulchre at Elgin; and his son Sir John Gordon perished on the scaffold in Aberdeen in presence of Mary, who was a reluctant spectator of a fate which was one day to be her own. The Queen returned to Holyrood on the evening of the 21st of November after an absence of nearly four months, and she was immediately seized with an illness which confined her to her couch six days. On the 10th of January 1562-3 the Queen again left Holyrood for Castle-Campbell near the base of the Ochills, in order to be present at the marriage of Lady Margaret Campbell, sister of the Earl of Argyll, to Sir James Stewart of Doune, then Commendator of St Colm, and in 1581 created Lord Doune. On the 14th the Queen returned to Holyrood, where she remained till the 13th of February, having recovered from another illness which seized her after her arrival.

About this time occurred an incident which proves that the Scottish nobility were most unscrupulous in their endeavours to ruin those with whom they were at feud. George fifth Earl of Huntly had fled, after his father's defeat and death at Corrichie, to his father-in-law the Duke of Chatelherault, who was obliged to

surrender him, and he was committed a prisoner to the Castle of Dunbar. The Earl was tried and convicted of high treason on the 8th of February 1562-3, condemned to be executed, and sent back to Dunbar in the meanwhile till the Queen's pleasure should be known. Preston of Craigmillar, the Governor of Dunbar Castle, received a warrant alleged to have been surreptitiously obtained from the Queen, ordering him to behead the young nobleman. This was intimated by Preston to the Earl, who was not surprised at the announcement, and declared that "knew well enough by whose means and after what manner such an order has been obtained, but that the Queen had doubtless been imposed on, since he was very well assured of her Majesty's favour, and that she would never deliver him up to the rage of his enemies; and therefore he begged that he would do him the favour to go to the Queen, and receive the order from her own mouth before he would proceed farther." Preston immediately rode to Edinburgh, and arrived at Holyrood late in the evening. Notwithstanding the unseasonable hour, he demanded an audience of the Queen, as he had a matter of the utmost importance to communicate. He was admitted into the royal bed-chamber, and Mary inquired the cause of this unexpected visit. Preston told her that he was anxious to inform her that he had obeyed her commands. "What commands from me?" asked the Queen. "The beheading of the Earl of Huntly," was the reply. When Mary heard this she manifested the greatest distress, weeping and solemnly protesting that she had "never given nor known of any such order." Preston quieted the Queen by telling her that "it was

very lucky he had not executed the order—that the Earl was alive and well, and begged to know her Majesty's commands how he should behave for the future towards his prisoner." Mary thanked Preston for his prudent conduct, acknowledging that nothing could be more acceptable to her, and that as she had now full confidence in his fidelity he was neither to deliver up the Earl nor execute any sentence on him unless she personally commanded him.³

The fate of Chatelard now presents itself, the first part of whose story was enacted in Holyrood. It is already stated that when Mary arrived from France, one of her attendants was Monsieur D'Anville, in whose train was Chatelard, a soldier by profession, handsome in person, and of varied accomplishments. After residing some time at Holyrood he returned to France with D'Anville, by whom he was again sent to Scotland with a letter which he delivered to the Queen at Montrose, while on her progress to Edinburgh from the North. The Queen subsequently had long conversations with Chatelard, whose manners were agreeable, and who could talk to her of many of the scenes of her youth in France. He was also an enthusiast in music and poetry, of which the Queen was passionately fond, and he was admitted by her to friendly intercourse, though Knox alleges that it was a tender familiarity—that the Queen used such personal freedoms with him as to justify him in returning them—and that during the winter of 1562-3 he was so intimate "in the Queen's cabinet, early and late, that scarcely could any of the nobility have access to her. The Queen would lie upon Chatelard's shoulder, and sometimes privily would

steal a kiss of his neck ; and all this was honest enough, for it was the genteel entreatment of a stranger."⁴ Encouraged by those attentions, Chatelard in an evil hour aspired to Mary's love, and in a fit of amorous frenzy he concealed himself in her bed-chamber at Holyrood, in which he was discovered by her female attendants some minutes before she retired for the night. This was on the 12th of February 1562-3, and it is singular that he had armed himself with a sword and a dagger. Chatelard was of course expelled by the Queen's domestics, who, not wishing that their royal mistress should be annoyed by this extraordinary and daring circumstance, concealed it till the morning. When Mary was informed of Chatelard's conduct, she ordered him instantly to leave the Palace, and never again to appear in her presence. This lenity, however, failed to exercise a proper effect on the infatuated man. On the 13th of February the Queen left Holyrood for Fife, and Chatelard had the presumption to repeat his offence at Burntisland on the night of the 14th, while Mary was in the act of stepping into her bed, and was surrounded by her ladies. The royal household was soon alarmed, and Chatelard was closely secured by the Earl of Moray. On the second day after this outrage Chatelard was tried and condemned at St Andrews, where he was executed on the 22d of February 1562-3.

On the 18th of May 1563 the Queen returned to Holyrood after an absence of upwards of three months in Fife and the neighbouring counties of Kinross and Perth. This was preparatory to the meeting of the Parliament, which assembled on the 26th of May, and

sat still only the 4th of June. Mary rode to the Parliament from Holyrood, accompanied by her ladies in court-dresses, the Duke of Chatelherault carrying the Crown, the Earl of Argyll the Sceptre, and the Earl of Moray the Sword. The Queen addressed the Parliament in her native tongue, and if her proficiency in elocution was no better than the specimens of her epistolary correspondence written with her own hand in the common language of the country, her oratory must have been homely enough, for it must be recollected that French was her ordinary mode of intercourse. It appears, however, that this speech delivered by Mary the first time she ever saw a Parliament was written in French, and translated and spoken by her in English. The Queen's appearance on this occasion excited the loyal feelings of the citizens, who exclaimed, as she passed to and from the Parliament—"God save that sweet face!"⁵ On the first day of the Parliament the Queen gave a feast to a large party of ladies in Holyrood. Mary rode to the Parliament from the Palace on three several days. Though an act of oblivion for all outrages committed from the 6th day of March 1558 to the 1st of September 1561 was passed, evidently intended to forgive the violences of the Reformation, the Noble family of Gordon were purposely excluded. The dead body of the unfortunate Earl of Huntly, still unburied, was carried to the tolbooth, in which the Parliament assembled, and a charge of high treason was preferred against him, his armorial bearings were torn, and himself, the Earl of Sutherland, and eleven gentlemen of the name of Gordon, forfeited and attainted. The Countess of Huntly protested against these proceedings, and in

vain requested to be heard by counsel. With this vindictiveness Mary had individually no concern. The fury of Knox, who was an eye-witness of the attendance of the Queen and her ladies, is thus expressed in his own coarse phraseology:—"Such stinking pryde of women as was seen at that Parliament was never befor seen in Scotland.—All things the precheors mislyked. They spack baldly against the targatting of their tails,⁶ and against the rest of their vanity, quhilk they affirmed would provock God's vengeance not only against those foolish women, but against the whole realme, and especially against those that manteyned them in that odious abusing of things that myght have been better bestowed. Artikles were presented for ordour to be taken for apparell, and for the reformation of other enormities, but all was scrippet at."⁷

During the sitting of this Parliament a sermon was preached by Knox in St Giles's church before several of the Nobility, in which he argued that they ought to demand from the Queen "that quhilk by God's Word they may justly require, and if she would not agree with them in God, they were not bound to agree with her in the devil." He concluded this insulting language by some offensive observations respecting the Queen's rumoured marriage, and declared—"Whenever ye consent that an infidel, and all Papists are infidels, shall be our head to our soverane, ye do so far as in you lieth to banisch Christ Jesus from this realme; ye bring God's vengeance upon this country, a plague upon yourselves, and perchance ye sall do no small discomfort to your soverane." This most presumptuous

attack was soon communicated to Mary, and Knox was again summoned to her presence in Holyrood by Douglas of Drumlanrig, lay provost of Lincluden. Lord Ochiltree⁸ and other leaders of the "faithful," accompanied Knox to the Palace; but John Erskine of Dun, the "Superintendent of Angus and Mearns" under the new system, was the only person admitted with him into the Queen's cabinet. As soon as Mary saw Knox she exclaimed, under great excitement—"Never was prince handled as I am. I have borne with you," she said to Knox, "in all your rigorous manner of speaking both against myself and against my uncles; yea, I have sought your favour by all possible means. I offered unto you presence and audience whenever it pleased you to admonish me, and yet I cannot be quit of you. I vow to God I shall be once avenged." The Queen wept, and often requested her page for handkerchiefs to dry her tears. Knox answered—"True it is, Madam, your Grace and I have been at divers controversies, into the which I never perceived your Grace to be offended at me; but when it shall please God to deliver you from that bondage of darkness and error in the which ye have been nourished for the lack of true doctrine, your Majesty will find the liberty of my tongue nothing offensive. Without the preaching place, Madam, I am not master of myself, for I must obey Him who commands me to speak plain, and flatter no flesh upon the face of the earth." This reply was not likely to subdue the Queen's anger, and she indignantly asked—"What have you to do with my marriage?" This elicited a definition from Knox of his vocation to preach faith and repentance, and the

imperative necessity of teaching the nobility and commonwealth their duty. The Queen again asked him—"What have ye to do with my marriage, or what are ye in this commonwealth?"—"A subject born within the same, Madam," was the stern reply; "and albeit I be neither Earl, Lord, nor Baron within it, yet has God made me, how abject soever I may be in your eyes, a profitable member within the same." Knox then repeated the words he had uttered in the pulpit, at which, he says, "howling was heard, and tears might have been seen in greater abundance than the matter required." Erskine of Dun here attempted to soothe the Queen by some complimentary allusions to her personal beauty, the excellence of her disposition, and the admiration expressed for her by all the princes of Europe, who were rivals to gain her favour, Knox stood unmoved, and his coolness increased Mary's anger. He volunteered a defence of himself, and urged his conscientious motives, which still further offended the Queen, who ordered him to leave the cabinet, and remain in the ante-chamber till her pleasure should be intimated. Lord John Stuart, the Commendator of Coldingham,⁹ joined the Queen and Erskine of Dun in the cabinet, in which they remained nearly an hour. During this space, Knox, who was attended by Lord Ochiltree, commenced a kind of religious admonition with the ladies present. "O fair ladies!" he said, "how pleasing is this life of yours if it would ever abide, and then in the end that ye pass to Heaven with all this gay gear! But fie upon the knave Death, that will come whether we will or not, and when he has laid on his arrest, the foul worms will be busy with this

flesh, be it never so fair and tender; and the silly soul, I fear, shall be so feeble, that it can neither carry with it gold, garnishing, targatting, pearl, nor precious stones." After similar exhortations, not often heard within the walls of a palace, Erskine of Dun appeared, and they both walked from Holyrood to the residence of Knox at the Nether Bow.¹⁰

On the 29th of June 1563 Queen Mary left Holyrood on another progress to the west and south-west of Scotland as far as Inverary, which occupied the two subsequent months of July and August. While the Queen was at Stirling, and was so far on her return to Edinburgh, a riot occurred at Holyrood in which Knox was deeply implicated. On Sundays the 8th and 15th of August, when the "Kirk at Edinburgh," says Knox, "had the ministration of the Lord's table, the Papists in grit numbers resorted to the Abbey to their abominations, certain dontibours,¹¹ and uthers of the French menzie"¹² at the head of whom was a certain Madame Baylie—"for maids," Knox adds malignantly, "that Court could not well bear"—naturally wished for the exercise of their own religion, and divine service was to be celebrated for their benefit, according to the ritual of the Church of Rome, in the Chapel-Royal. This was known in the neighbourhood, and a "zealous brother," named Patrick Cranston, entered the edifice, exclaiming, as a priest was preparing to commence mass—"The Queen's Majesty is not here; how dare you, then, be so malapert as openly to do against the laws?" The Queen's household were so much alarmed by this man's violence that they sent to Wishart of Pitarrow, the Comptroller, who happened to be in St

Giles's church listening to a sermon, requesting him to proceed to Holyrood to save the life of Madame Baylie and protect the Palace. Wishart proceeded thither, accompanied by Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy, Provost of the city, the Magistrates, and a numerous party; but the disturbance had ceased before their arrival, and the result of the prosecution of the offenders, whom Knox intended to rescue, is not known.¹³ Knox was summoned before the Queen and Privy Council for his interference in this unseemly and intolerant disturbance, and especially for presuming to set at defiance an act of the recent Parliament, which declared all assemblages of the people in towns without the Queen's consent illegal.¹⁴ He comported himself in his usual manner, denying that he was guilty of seditious or rebellious practices, and entreated the Queen to "forsake her idolatrous religion," at which bold invective the Earl of Morton, then Lord Chancellor, told him to "hold his peace and go away."

Queen Mary returned to Holyrood on the 30th of September, and seems to have constantly resided in the Palace during the ensuing winter. In January and February 1563-4, she is mentioned as giving banquets to the nobility, who in their turn invited her to be their guest. Mary's health was evidently very indifferent while at Holyrood, from the lowness of the situation, but her other chief annoyance was Knox, whom she unsuccessfully attempted to banish on account of his turbulence. On the 6th of March 1563-4 the Queen left Holyrood, and after alternately residing at Perth, Falkland, and St Andrews, she returned to Holyrood about the middle of May. Disgusted at the

conduct of Knox and his party, Mary again left Holyrood on the 22d of July 1564, and after a brief sojourn at Linlithgow and Stirling she went to Perth, whence she resorted to a hunting expedition in Atholl, and crossing into Inverness-shire, she returned by the east coast to Holyrood on the 26th of September.





CHAPTER VIII.

MARRIAGE OF QUEEN MARY AND LORD DARNLEY AT HOLYROOD.

DURING Mary's absence in this latter progress an event occurred which had a serious effect on her future destiny. This was the return of her relative Matthew Earl of Lennox, the father of Lord Darnley, from his exile in England. The Earl arrived in Edinburgh on the 8th of September, and was informed that the Queen was then the guest of the Earl of Atholl in Perthshire. He resolved to proceed thither, and went to St. Andrews, where he heard of the Queen's return southward. In obedience to Mary's invitation, the Earl presented himself at Holyrood on the 27th of September, riding to the Palace preceded by twelve gentlemen splendidly mounted and clothed in black velvet, and followed by thirty attendants bearing his arms and livery.¹ His reception at Holyrood was flattering and cordial. Either at this or a subsequent interview Lennox gave the Queen "a marvellous fair and rich jewel, a clock, a dial curiously wrought and set with stones, and a looking-glass very richly set with stones in the four metals; also to each of the Marys such pretty things as he thought fittest for them."² Lord Darnley was with his mother the

Countess of Lennox in England, but Mary by her conduct sufficiently intimated that she had heard with satisfaction most favourable reports of his personal appearance, and common rumour had already selected him as the Queen's husband. A series of festivities was now held in Holyrood, and a grand entertainment given by the Queen on the 12th of November is specially mentioned. On the 3d of December, which was the second day of the meeting of the Parliament, Mary recommended the reversal of the forfeiture of Lennox, who on the same day was restored to his estate and honours; but as an antidote to this compliance with the royal desire, the attendance on Mass, except in the Queen's chapel, was to be punished with the loss of goods and of life.

Mary left Holyrood for Fife on the 19th of January 1564-5, and she remained in quiet retirement at St Andrews till the 11th of February, when she crossed the county to Lundie near Leven, where she arrived on the 12th, and on the 13th she rode to Wemyss Castle, then inhabited by the Earl of Moray. At that very time Lord Darnley had left London on horseback for Scotland, bringing with him Queen Elizabeth's letters of recommendation, a diamond ring from his mother to Mary her niece, a diamond to Moray, a watch set with rubies and diamonds to Secretary Maitland, and a ruby ring to Robert Melville, the brother of Sir James Melville of Halhill, the Queen's envoy in England. Darnley arrived in Edinburgh on the day Mary rode to Wemyss Castle, whither he proceeded on the 16th of February, and there had his first interview with the Queen, by whom he was well received.

Sir James Melville, who was present in Wemyss Castle, states that Mary "took very well" with her visitor, and jocularly said to him (Melville) that Darnley was the "properest and best proportioned long man that ever she had seen." Darnley was then only nineteen years of age, and four years younger than Mary, but he was remarkably tall, and the Queen herself was, like her mother, of the largest female size. Repeated outrages on the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood compelled Mary to return to Edinburgh, and she arrived at the Palace on the 24th of February 1564-5, Darnley having previously left Wemyss Castle to visit his father, who was then with the Earl of Atholl at Dunkeld, but hastening so rapidly thence to Edinburgh as to reach the city before the return of the Queen.

Darnley was now a regular visitor at Holyrood, and took part in all the amusements of the Court. On the 26th of February he was entertained at supper by Moray in his house in Croft-an-Righ behind the Palace, where he met the Queen, with whom he danced. Darnley was at this time popular with the citizens of Edinburgh, who considered him to be good-natured, and affable in his behaviour.³ Although Darnley was suspected of "Popery," he seems to have placed himself under the guidance of Moray, and he occasionally resorted to the preaching of Knox in St Giles's church. At length he proposed marriage to the Queen, which she at first pretended to decline, and even refused a ring which he wished her to accept. This, however was mere flirtation, for the courtship continued, and it is certain that on the 17th of March 1564-5 Mary had fixed her affections on Darnley, for shortly afterwards she sent

Secretary Maitland to London, to inform Elizabeth of her resolution, which the English Queen knew before his arrival. Meanwhile Mary left Holyrood for Linlithgow and Stirling on the 26th of March 1565, whither she was followed by Darnley, and the marriage was at last arranged at Stirling in a meeting of the Privy Council on the 15th of May 1565, at which the Queen was present, and on that day Darnley was created a knight, Earl of Ross, and Lord of Ardmanach, his elevation as Duke of Albany having been merely delayed. About this period a formidable party, led by the Earls of Moray and Argyll, repeatedly attempted to overawe Mary, and actually debated whether Darnley ought to be murdered, or to seize him and his father and deliver them to Elizabeth. Various plots were concerted, and powerful confederacies formed. One was to carry the Queen to St Andrews, and Darnley to Castle-Campbell; but the ultimate agreement was, that Moray should murder Darnley, assume the government, and imprison Mary for life in Lochleven Castle.⁴

The Queen returned to Holyrood on the 4th of July, on the 20th of which month Darnley was created Duke of Rothesay, the Queen having previously received the approbation of her uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine respecting the marriage, and also the dispensation of the Pope. On the following Sunday the banns were proclaimed by John Brand, the Reformed minister of the Canongate, in the Chapel-Royal. Sunday the 29th was the day of this ill-fated union, and the place was the same Chapel-Royal of Holyrood. John Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig in the vicinity, Bishop of Brechin, performed the ceremonial according to the ritual of

the Church of Rome between the hours of five and six in the morning. It has been invariably recorded that Mary on this eventful occasion was attired in mourning, and that the dress was that which she wore on the day of her first husband's funeral.⁵ Randolph, though not an eye-witness, informed the Earl of Leicester that the Queen was conveyed to the Chapel dressed in "the great mourning gowne of blacke, with the great wide mourning hoode, not unlyke that which she wore the dolefull day of the buriall of her husbände." Mary was attended by the Earls of Lennox and Atholl, who left her in the Chapel, and returned into the Palace for Darnley. The Dean of Restalrig and a priest received the royal pair, the banns were asked a third time, and a protest was taken by a notary that no opposition was alleged against the marriage. The service then proceeded. Three rings, one of them a rich diamond, were placed by Darnley on the Queen's finger, and they knelt together during the prayers. When the ceremony was concluded, Darnley kissed the Queen, and proceeded to her apartments in the Palace, leaving her in the Chapel to attend Mass, which he seems to have purposely avoided. A splendid banquet was given in the Palace in the afternoon, and Knox carefully records that the entertainments and rejoicings continued three or four days. At the marriage dinner the Queen was served by the Earl of Atholl as sewer, the Earl of Morton as carver, and the Earl of Crawford as cup-bearer, the Earls of Eglinton, Cassillis, and Glencairn waiting on Darnley. The trumpets sounded a largesse, and money was distributed in the Palace to the domestics. A dance succeeded the banquet, after which the

Queen and her consort retired till the hour of supper, which repast was a repetition of the dinner. Dancing was resumed, and the royal pair then betook themselves to their own chamber. Randolph states—"I was sent for to have been at the supper, but like a churlish or uncourteous carle I refused to be there."⁶

On the following day the Queen subscribed a proclamation in the Palace, which was duly published at the Cross of Edinburgh, ordering Darnley to be styled King, though this by no means associated him with her in the government. Mary had soon cause to regret this most imprudent act, which excited the strongest dissatisfaction among the nobility, while Darnley's conduct after his marriage made him numerous enemies. On the 19th of August, when he attended St Giles's church, Knox edified him by a sermon against the government of boys and women, meaning him and the Queen. A serious coalition was formed, and a rebellion ensued, in which the Earl of Moray was particularly conspicuous, but the active movements of the Queen and the royal forces completely disconcerted the insurgents. On the 25th of August the Queen and Darnley left Holyrood in order to disperse the disaffected in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, and in September the royal pair were in Stirling, Dunfermline, Dundee, and Perth, returning to Holyrood on the 19th of that month. They resided in the Palace till the 8th of October, when the movements of the insurgents in Dumfries-shire again drew them from Holyrood, but the suppression of the insurrection brought them to the Palace on the 18th, and they remained in it till the end of the year, unconscious of the confederacies forming against them.

The Earl of Moray, the principal leader in this rebellion, was compelled to retire into England as an exile, and at this crisis the Earl of Bothwell, profiting by Moray's disgrace, returned from France, accompanied by David Chalmers of Ormond, who was soon appointed one of the Ordinary Lords of Session. Bothwell, who had been expelled from Scotland by the power of Moray, was received with marked distinction by the Queen, and this rash, daring, and profligate man was present at a meeting of the Privy Council on the 5th of November. The Queen and Darnley continued to reside in Holyrood during the winter, and about the beginning of February 1565-6, the Seigneur de Rambouillet, with a deputation from the King of France, arrived at the Palace, to present Darnley with the Order of St Michael, known as the Scallop or Cockle-shell Order, so called from the escallop shells of which the collar was composed. The investiture was performed after the celebration of Mass in the Chapel-Royal, and on the 11th of February the French ambassador was invited to a banquet or entertainment in the Palace, at which the Queen, her four Marys, and all her ladies, thought proper to appear in male apparel, and presented each of the strangers with a "whinger" embroidered with gold. The French ambassador was lodged near the Palace, and his expenses were defrayed by the Queen.





CHAPTER IX.

MURDER OF RICCIO IN HOLYROOD.



T this time two conspiracies were in active progress—the dethronement of Mary and the murder of David Riccio, which latter plot was originally formed by no less a personage than Darnley himself and his father Lennox. Darnley, whose enemies were now numerous, and whose insolence was unbounded, was induced to believe that Riccio was the sole instigator of those measures which deprived him of the crown-matrimonial and his share of the government, for which it was too obvious he was utterly incapacitated by his habits, disposition, and imbecility. Mary had painfully discovered that her love was thrown away on one whom it was impossible to treat with confidence and regard;—and an unhappy quarrel was soon the result, which the conduct of Darnley rendered every day the more irreconcilable. The first victim connected with this alienation of Mary's affections and her husband's violence was Riccio, of whom Darnley became jealous, actually labouring under the delusion that the Italian had supplanted him in the Queen's esteem, and even asserting that he had dishonoured the royal bed. The agent of Cosmo I., Grand Duke of Tuscany,

mentions that one attempt to murder Riccio was frustrated by Lord Seton. It was afterwards proposed to assassinate him while playing a game of rackets with Darnley, who was to invite him for that purpose. Randolph wrote to Leicester, that Darnley and his father had resolved to murder Riccio—that it would be done in ten days—that the crown would be torn from the Queen—and that still darker designs were meditated against her person which he durst not record in his correspondence.¹

Such was the dreadful condition of the royal inmates of the Palace of Holyrood at this crisis:—Darnley the dupe of the absurd delusion that he had been conjugally dishonoured—a plot formed against his life—and the ruin of the Queen projected. Mary's refusal to confer the crown-matrimonial soon led to coldness, reproaches, and an absolute estrangement, on the part of Darnley, who publicly treated her with haughtiness, forsook her company, and intrigued with her enemies. In addition to this, he indulged in low habits, and was leading a most dissipated and profligate life. Sir William Drury informed Cecil of two instances of Darnley's drunkenness—the one in a merchant's house in Edinburgh, at which the Queen was present, when he conducted himself towards her so insolently that she left the place in tears—and the other a shameful drinking carousal on the island of Inchkeith in company with Lord Robert Stuart, the "Abbot" or Commendator of Holyroodhouse, Lord Fleming, and other personages.² The disgust in which the Queen, then far advanced in pregnancy, held her husband, was well known throughout the kingdom, yet Darnley was altogether regardless

of her opinions, and was gradually accelerating his own destruction.

Riccio, the immediate victim of the tragedy in Holyrood, was a constant attendant on the Queen in his capacity of French secretary, and resided in the Palace. This unfortunate foreigner, who is described by Sir James Melville as a "merry fellow and a good musician," was born at Turin in Piedmont, where his father earned a precarious subsistence as a musician. Riccio followed the Piedmontese ambassador into Scotland, and having attracted the notice of Mary, he was in 1561 appointed a valet of her chamber. On the 8th of January 1561-2 the sum of L. 89 was paid to him in that capacity; on the 15th of April 1562 he received L. 15 as "chalmer chield;" and in 1564 four quarterly payments were made to him at the rate of L. 80 per annum, as "valet of the Queen's chalmer."³ Mary was fond of vocal music, and having three valets who sung three parts, Riccio was recommended to her as competent to sing the fourth or bass part in concert. He continued as valet till the dismissal of Raulat, the Queen's French secretary, whom she had brought from France, when Riccio was appointed his successor. He appears to have been unpopular from the first, and his officious interferences soon rendered him an object of bitter hatred. Riccio was suspected to be a pensioner of the Pope, which by no means alleviated the odium against him. He interfered with the administration of justice in the Court of Session, and by the presents he received to secure his influence he soon became very rich. His situation necessarily led him much into the private parties given by the Queen, who liked his polite

and obsequious manners, his amusing talents, and his fidelity. Sir James Melville relates a conversation he held with Riccio, who, he says, was not without his fears. He was advised by Melville to conduct himself with humility becoming his station, not to intermeddle with state affairs, always to give place to the nobility, and when they were present to retire from the Queen. Riccio admitted the prudence of those suggestions, and said he would follow the advice recommended; but he afterwards told Melville that "the Queen would not suffer him, and would needs carry himself as formerly." Sir James also relates a conversation he had with Mary respecting Riccio, advising her to be cautious as to the favour she evinced to one who was suspected to be a pensioner of the Pope, and to "alter her carriage" towards him, reminding her of the affair of Chatelard, her affability with whom had done her serious injury. Soon after Darnley's arrival an extraordinary intimacy was formed between him and Riccio before he married the Queen, and in reality he had a powerful advocate to secure the hand of Mary in the influential foreigner. After the Queen's marriage Riccio increased in affluence. On the 1st and 24th of August 1565 he received some presents and money, and about the end of the same year he seems to have acted as keeper of the privy purse to Mary and Darnley, especially in February 1565-6, when he was paid by the Queen's precept L.2000 in part of 10,000 merks owing to her from the "comptoir" of the coinage for the previous two years.⁴ As to Riccio's personal appearance it was by no prepossessing, and indeed it is expressly stated that he was advanced in years and deformed.⁵

Such was the individual of whom Darnley became seriously jealous, and Riccio's enemies embraced the opportunity of exciting the imbecile mind of the former to such a degree that he sent his relative George Douglas, on the 10th of February, to implore Lord Ruthven, in whom he had the greatest confidence, to assist him against the "villain David." Ruthven was then so unwell, that, as he himself says, he "was scarcely able to walk the length of his chamber," yet he consented to engage in the murder; but though Darnley was sworn to keep the design secret, Randolph was informed of the project, and revealed it in a letter, which is still preserved, to the Earl of Leicester nearly a month before the crime was perpetrated. In reality, however, the first conspirators against the unfortunate Riccio were the Earl of Morton, Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, and Maitland of Lethington, the last ingeniously contriving to make Darnley the patron of the plot, and the dupe of his associates. Morton embarked in it his exiled friend the Earl of Moray, making it the means of his return to Scotland; he next secured the co-operation of the Reforming leaders, including the preachers; and he negotiated to obtain the support of Queen Elizabeth, in all of which projects he was successful. John Knox and his colleague John Craig were admitted into the secret of the conspiracy, as were also Bellenden of Auchnoull, Lord Justice-Clerk, Macgill of Rankeillour, Clerk-Register, Crichton of Brunstane, Cockburn of Ormiston, Sandilands of Calder, and others connected with the Reforming party. Morton's grand projects were to break up the approaching Parliament, imprison the Queen, place Darnley in the nominal

sovereignty, and constitute the Earl of Moray the head of the government, and this was to be achieved by the murder of Riccio.

It is impossible to detail all the minute particulars, the concocting of two Bonds or Covenants, and other events, connected with this plot, which belong rather to general history, and strikingly illustrate the unscrupulous criminality of the age. Some hints of impending danger were conveyed to Mary, who very imprudently disregarded them. Even Riccio received a significant caution from a person named Damiot, a reputed astrologer, who advised him to settle his affairs and leave Scotland. Riccio replied that he was not afraid of his enemies—that they were mere ducks—strike one of them and the rest would lie in. “You will find them geese,” was the reply; “if you handle one of them, the rest will fly upon you, and pluck you so that they will leave neither feather nor down upon you.”

The Parliament was opened by the Queen in person, who rode from Holyrood to the Tolbooth near St Giles’s church, arrayed in “wondrous gorgeous apparel,” early in March 1565–6.⁶ Mary requested Darnley to accompany her on the first day to the Parliament, but he preferred riding to Leith with “seven or aucht horse” to amuse himself. The Lords of the Articles were chosen, and the forfeiture against Moray and the banished Nobility was discussed two days with great diversity of opinion. The influence of the Queen eventually prevailed, and the attainder of Moray and his friends was to have been passed on Tuesday the 12th March, which was prevented, and the Parliament dispersed, by the murder of Riccio.

On the evening of Saturday the 9th of March, about

five hundred persons surrounded the Palace of Holyrood. The Earl of Morton and Lord Lindsay kept guard without, and one hundred and sixty men were in the court. Mary was in that portion of the old Palace consisting of the north-west towers, the second storey of which contains the apartments known by her name, consisting of an ante-chamber leading into a room having one window on the south and another on the west, which is designated Queen Mary's Bed-Chamber, the projecting circular towers at the angles having each a small lighted apartment, the one in the north-west tower called Queen Mary's Supping-Room, and that in the south-west tower her Dressing-Room. These are reached by the staircase entered from the piazzas in the interior of the north side of the quadrangle, and also by a narrow private stair on the north side of the Palace near the western door of the Chapel-Royal. By this private stair the conspirators were admitted to Darnley's apartments on the first storey. About seven o'clock in the evening the Queen was at supper in the small room in the north-west tower, and with her were the Countess of Argyll and the Commendator of Holyroodhouse her illegitimate sister and brother, Beaton of Criech, Master of the Queen's household, Arthur Erskine, who commanded her guard, and Riccio. Darnley ascended the above narrow private staircase communicating with the Queen's Bed-Chamber as if to join the Queen at supper, and threw up the arras which concealed the opening in the wall. He fondly encircled her waist with his arm, and placed himself beside her at the table, but he partook not of the repast. One writer alleges⁷ that Riccio was sitting at a side table, according

to his custom while waiting, when the assassins entered; and another,⁸ that he sat at the table with the Queen. Be this as it may, the closet is so small that the distinction of attitude could be scarcely perceptible. A minute had scarcely elapsed after Darnley went into the closet, when Lord Ruthven, who was of tall stature, and cased in complete armour, abruptly intruded on the party. He had risen from a sick-bed to assist in this murder, and his features were so sunk and pale from disease, his appearance so repulsive, and his voice so hollow, that the Queen started in terror, and commanded him instantly to leave the closet, while her guests and attendants sat paralyzed at his sudden invasion. It is stated that Ruthven, when he entered, merely wished to "speak" to Riccio, but Mary suspected violence, and Ruthven's refusal to depart alarmed the Italian, who moved behind the Queen. An explanation was then demanded from Darnley, who pretended to affect ignorance, while he scowled fiercely at the victim. The light of torches now glared in the outer-room, or bed-chamber, a confused noise of voices and weapons was heard, and instantly George Douglas,⁹ Ker of Fawdonside, and others, crowded into the closet, which must have been completely filled, and the wonder is that so small an apartment could contain so many persons. Ruthven drew his dagger, fiercely exclaiming to the Queen—"No harm is intended to you, Madam, but only to that villain." He made an effort to seize Riccio, who remained behind the Queen, and, according to some accounts, almost clasped her in his arms in a state of distraction, shouting in a foreign accent—"Justice! save my life, Madam! save my life!"

All was now in disorder, the chairs, table, dishes, and candlesticks were overturned, and Darnley endeavoured to unloose Riccio's arms from the Queen's person, assuring her that she was safe. Ker of Fawdonside presented a pistol to the breast of the Queen, and threatened to destroy her and Riccio if she caused alarm. While Mary shrieked with terror, and Darnley still held her in his arms, Riccio was stabbed over her shoulder by George Douglas with Darnley's own dagger, which he had snatched from the side of the latter, and left it in the body of the unfortunate Italian. He was then dragged out of the closet, through the bed-room, to the entrance of the Presence-Chamber, where Morton and others rushed on him, and plunged their daggers to the hilt in his body, which weltered in a pool of blood, leaving Darnley's dagger in it to show his connection with the murder. According to the Queen's statement in her letter to Archbishop Beaton, Riccio was dispatched by no fewer than fifty-six wounds.¹⁰

After this shocking murder was perpetrated almost in the presence of the Queen, then far advanced in pregnancy, Lord Ruthven staggered into the royal apartment in a state of exhaustion, and found Mary standing distracted, and in terror of her life. He sat down, and coolly demanded a cup of wine, which was presented to him. When the Queen reproached him with the dreadful crime he had committed, he not only vindicated himself and his associates, but harrowed her by declaring that her own consort was the contriver. At this moment one of the Queen's ladies rushed into the cabinet, and exclaimed that Riccio was slain, for the Queen was not till then aware of the completion of

the murder. When Mary was informed that Darnley was actually the chief leader, a mutual recrimination ensued, which if the Earl of Belford and Randolph are to be credited in their letter to Cecil, dated Berwick, the 27th of March 1566, was most discreditable to both parties. This was a most outrageous charge by Darnley that Mary had been criminally familiar with Riccio, and Mary's answers, assuming the accusations and retorts to be correctly reported by Belford and Randolph, were very undignified, though every allowance must be made for the heat of passion, and the unparalleled insult which she as the sovereign had received in her own Palace, aggravated by the implication of her husband, whose conduct for some months previous had greatly estranged her from him, and had rendered her most unhappy.

Riccio, on the night of his murder, was dressed in a night-gown of furred damask, with a satin doublet, and hose of russet velvet, and a rich jewel is mentioned as ornamenting his neck, which could not afterwards be found.¹¹ Knox states¹² that the murderers intended to hang Riccio, and brought a rope for that purpose, but that they were prevented by the circumstances which occurred, and they dispatched him by fifty-three wounds—three less than the number specified by the Queen in her letter to Archbishop Beaton. The dead body was dragged to the porter's lodge, stripped naked and treated with every mark of indignity. It is alleged, however, on the most undoubted authority, without reference to the statement of Buchanan, that the mangled body of the Italian was subsequently deposited for a time in the royal vault beside the remains of her

ancestors by express order of the Queen—a circumstance afterwards remembered to her disadvantage; and Buchanan aptly terms this “one of her unaccountable actions which gave rise to ugly reports.”¹³ Riccio was latterly interred in the churchyard of the Abbey, which was close to the Palace.¹⁴

Immediately after Riccio was murdered the assassins kept the Queen a close prisoner in her own apartments, Darnley assumed the regal power, dissolved the Parliament, commanding the Estates to leave Edinburgh within three hours on pain of treason, and orders were sent to the Magistrates enjoining them to be vigilant with their city force. To the Earl of Morton and his armed retainers were entrusted the gates of the Palace, with injunctions that none should escape; nevertheless the Earls of Atholl and Bothwell contrived to elude the guards by leaping over a window towards the north side of the garden in which some lions and other wild animals were kept. The Earl of Atholl, Lords Fleming and Livingstone, Murray of Tullibardine, Maitland of Lethington, and Sir James Balfour of Pittendriech, were permitted to retire, which they readily did, although Maitland and probably Balfour were deeply implicated. On the following morning, which was Sunday, Sir James Melville was “let forth” at the gate. The Queen saw him passing through the court-yard, and throwing up the window sash, she implored him to alarm the lieges, that she might be delivered out of the hands of the traitors. The Master of Lennox’s household was sent with a party to stop him, but Sir James was allowed to proceed by declaring that he was merely “going to sermon in St Giles’s church.” He

went to Sir Simon Preston of Craigmillar, the Provost; the common bell was rung, and the chief magistrate, at the head of a body of armed citizens, rushed into the court-yard of the Palace, demanding the release of their Sovereign. Mary in vain entreated the assassins to allow her to address the people from the window. She was dragged from it with threats that if she attempted to show herself they would cut her in pieces. Darnley appeared for her, assured the Provost and his party that the Queen was safe, and commanded them to disperse, which they instantly obeyed.

On the evening of that Sunday the Earls of Moray and Rothes, Lord Ochiltree, and others of the exiled Nobility, arrived, according to their concerted plan, in Edinburgh, and instantly rode to Holyrood. They were welcomed by Darnley, and so unconscious was the Queen of Moray's foreknowledge of the murder, that she sent for him, threw herself into his arms, and in an agony of tears exclaimed—"If my brother had been here, he never would have suffered me to have been thus cruelly handled." This incident overcame Moray, who is reported to have wept. Yet, whatever might have been the feelings of the Queen, and though a rigorous prosecution was instituted against the assassins, they were all received into the royal favour before the end of the year, with the exception of Lord Ruthven, who died at Newcastle on the 13th of June. Only two persons were executed for the murder of Riccio. Those were Thomas Scott of Cambusmichael, then sheriff-depute of Perth, and Henry Yair, formerly a priest, and connected with the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, who were tried on the 1st of April, and sentenced to be hanged, drawn,

and quartered.¹⁵ Scott's head was spiked on a tower of the Palace, and that of Yair on the Nether-Bow. William Harlaw and John Mowbray, both burgesses of Edinburgh, who were tried and found guilty on the same day with the two others, were brought to the place of execution, and pardoned at the intercession of the Earl of Bothwell.

Mary soon succeeded in detaching Darnley from the murderers, and he had the hardihood falsely to deny any connection with the conspiracy. Ruthven and his associates withdrew from the Palace to the Earl of Morton's house, the guards were removed, and the domestics of the Queen resumed their household duties. This appears to have been on Monday, and at midnight the Queen suddenly left Holyrood for Dunbar Castle, then Crown property, of which Bothwell was keeper, accompanied by Darnley, Arthur Erskine, and one female attendant. Mary returned to Edinburgh in five days, and preferred the house of a citizen as her residence to the Palace. A few days afterwards she removed to another tenement nearer the Castle, probably the former domicile of her mother, the Queen Regent, on the Castlehill.

The Queen does not appear to have been often resident in the Palace till after the birth of her son James VI. in Edinburgh Castle, on the 19th of June 1566. After her recovery Mary indulged in excursions to Alloa House, hunting expeditions into Peeblesshire and Perthshire, and visits to Stirling and Drummond Castles, returning to Edinburgh occasionally when her presence was required for the public business. Though Darnley, who had been apparently reconciled to her at

Alloa House by the influence of the French ambassador Mauvissiere, either followed the Queen or accompanied her in those excursions, he latterly chose to remain at Stirling, displaying that wayward recklessness peculiar to him, and annoying Mary by threatening to leave the kingdom. The Queen was occasionally at Holyrood in August and September 1656, during which months the excursions took place, and on the 29th of the latter month Darnley arrived at the Palace about ten in the evening. The Queen on the morning of that day received a letter from Lennox, announcing his inability to dissuade his son from his intention of retiring to the Continent, which she laid before the Privy Council. Darnley peremptorily refused to enter the Palace unless the Earls of Moray, Argyll, and Rothes, the Secretary Maitland of Lethington, and some of the Officers of State who were within, should leave it; and the Queen condescended to wait on him at the entrance, and conducted him to her own apartments, where he remained with her during the night.¹⁶ She questioned him about his design to leave Scotland, and requested his reasons for such an extraordinary project, which he refused to assign, though he acknowledged that he had no cause of discontent. On the following day the Privy Council met in the Queen's apartments, and argued with Darnley respecting the folly of the design which he had formed, either of his own accord or at the suggestion of others for some sinister purpose; and the Queen took him by the hand, entreating him to say whether she had ever offended him, and freely to make known his sentiments. He thought proper to deny that he had any intention of leaving the kingdom; he

admitted that he had no cause of complaint; and he confessed that the Queen had ever been to him indulgent and affectionate. Darnley then abruptly retired from the Privy Council, saying to Mary—"Adieu, Madam, you shall not see me for a long space;" and to the Privy Council—"Adieu, gentlemen." This was apparently the last time Darnley was within the Palace, from which he immediately proceeded to his father at Glasgow.





CHAPTER X.

MURDER OF DARNLEY AND RISE OF BOTHWELL.

DARNLEY'S conduct had now become so intolerable, his temper was so capricious and unbearable, and his carriage so outrageous, that the dreadful fate which soon befel him, at that very time projected, is not surprising, and the blood of Riccio was fearfully to be avenged. The Queen had discovered his falsehood and duplicity connected with the murder of the Italian, and before her accouchement she was meditating a divorce, having sent a confidential messenger to Rome for that purpose. She was so miserable that she also entertained an intention of returning to France, and of entrusting the government of the kingdom to a Regency composed of the Earls of Moray, Huntly, Mar, Atholl, and Bothwell. After the birth of James VI., however, the Queen had relented towards him, and a complete reconciliation was prevented solely by his own headstrong and capricious conduct. His behaviour in the Palace, when he abruptly left the Queen and the Privy Council, sealed his fate, and it was now determined that his career should be brief. The whole detail of the plot against Darnley was finally arranged in Craigmillar Castle, while the Queen was

residing there in November, two months after the original design was resolved on.

Bothwell was now rising in the Queen's favour, and as his residence was within the precincts of Holyrood, he had frequent opportunities of evincing his devotedness to her interests. Her partiality for him, though he was ten years her senior, and had married Lady Jane Gordon a few months before the birth of James VI., had been early detected by Moray, Maitland, and their associates, who artfully flattered his vanity, and encouraged an ambition daring enough at any time to aspire to a height which he had never before contemplated. On the 6th of October, after attending a meeting of the Privy Council, Bothwell left Edinburgh to quell some disturbance on the Borders, and to prepare that frontier district for the Queen's reception. It is alleged by Sir James Melville, from personal observation, that Bothwell's project for the murder of Darnley and the possession of the Queen's person commenced about the time that he was sent to the Border; but this was his own private scheme, and Moray, Morton, Maitland, and others, were in a plot of their own to destroy Darnley, which, as already stated, was formed about the end of September.

Mary, accompanied by the Officers of State and the whole Court, left Holyrood on the 8th of October for Jedburgh, to hold justice-ayres, the very day on which Bothwell, who had set out on the 6th, was severely wounded in the hand in an encounter with a Border leader named Elliot of Park at Hermitage Castle. Darnley was at the time with his father at Glasgow. It would be irrelevant to this narrative to detail the

Queen's proceedings during this expedition; her extraordinary fatiguing ride from Jedburgh to Hermitage Castle and back in one day to visit Bothwell, when she was informed that he was wounded; her dangerous illness on her return to Jedburgh; Darnley's hasty visit to her after her recovery; and her progress to Edinburgh by Kelso, Coldingham, and Dunbar. On the 20th of November the Queen arrived at Craigmillar Castle, in which she continued to reside in a very debilitated state till the 5th December, when she removed to Holyrood. During Mary's sojourn in Craigmillar she was visited by Darnley on the 26th, and he remained with her a week. In Craigmillar also at this time was matured the project to murder Darnley. On the 11th of December the Queen left Holyrood for Stirling Castle, to be present at the baptism of her son, and she returned to Holyrood on the 14th of January 1566-7. On the 20th she had become reconciled to Darnley, who had exhibited some of his vagaries at Stirling on occasion of the royal baptism, which he either refused or was not allowed to witness, and who had been seized with small-pox while on the road from Stirling to Glasgow. On the 24th of January the Queen left Holyrood to bring Darnley from Glasgow to Edinburgh, he having partially recovered from his sickness. Darnley had received some private intelligence of the plots against him; he was aware of the return from exile of the Earl of Morton, who regarded him as the cause of all his sufferings; and he knew that among his mortal enemies, who had never forgiven him for his desertion of them after the murder of Riccio, were some of the most powerful Nobility, who now enjoyed the confidence of

the Queen. At his interview with Mary in Glasgow he professed an earnest repentance of his errors, pleaded his youth, the few friends on whom he could now depend, and declared to her his unalterable affection. The Queen then told him, that as he was scarcely able to travel on horseback, she had brought a litter to carry him to Craigmillar, where she intended to give him the bath, and the air of which would be more salubrious to promote convalescence than Holyrood.

The Queen arrived at Edinburgh in company with Darnley upon the 31st of January, and instead of Craigmillar Castle, the house of the Provost of the Church of St Mary-in-the Fields, commonly called the Kirk-of-Field, was selected for his residence. This was on the ground now occupied by the south and south-east portion of the University. It is almost impossible to account for Mary placing Darnley in such a locality as the Kirk-of-Field instead of Craigmillar, unless it be assumed that she knew of the conspiracy, though she may have wished him to be nearer Holyrood than Craigmillar, which is three miles distant, and she may have acted by the advice of her physicians. Nevertheless, making every allowance for the rudeness of the domestic accommodation of the age, the house was insecure and confined, and the proprietor was Robert Balfour, a dependent of the Earl of Bothwell, and the brother of Sir James Balfour of Pittendrieck, the deviser of the bond for the murder drawn up at Craigmillar.

Into the dreadful catastrophe of the murder of Darnley in the Kirk-of-Field house, early in the morning of the 10th of February, it is impossible in these

limits minutely to enter. The Queen had passed the greater part of Sunday the 9th with him apparently on the most affectionate terms, while the conspirators employed by Bothwell were actively engaged in depositing bags of gunpowder in an apartment under Darnley's chamber.¹ Mary at first had resolved to remain all night in the house, but she recollected an engagement to be present at an entertainment in Holyrood, which was the more extraordinary as it was given on the Sunday evening. This unhallowed amusement on such an evening was a masque, with which the Queen in person honoured the marriage on that day of one of her foreign domestics named Sebastian, or Sebastiani, and Margaret Carwood, one of her favourite women. When the Queen left Darnley she embraced and kissed him, put a ring on his finger as a mark of her affection, and bade him farewell for the night. She returned to the Palace with her attendants by crossing the Cowgate, walking up the Blackfriars' Wynd, and down the High Street and Canongate. Bothwell also left the Kirk-of-Field house at the same time by a different access, and joined in the unseemly festivities in the Palace, from which he stole away about midnight, and prepared himself for the horrid deed by changing his dress. Early in the morning the citizens were alarmed by a loud explosion. Darnley was strangled with his page, and their bodies carried into a small orchard without the garden wall, where they were found, the former attired only in his shirt. The house was blown up by the gunpowder, and Mary was again a widow.

Darnley and his page were murdered before Bothwell arrived, after his revelry in the Palace, at the Kirk-of-Field house. When he left his residence within the precincts of Holyrood to perpetrate the crime, or to be a witness of its consummation, he was accompanied by a Frenchman named Nicolas Hubert, who figures in the narrative by the sobriquet of "French Paris," and three of his hired retainers. As the localities in the vicinity of Holyrood are now greatly altered, and many buildings are removed which existed in Queen Mary's time, it is difficult to understand the places mentioned. Bothwell and his hirelings, after they left his domicile, proceeded "down the turnpike," till they came to the back of the "Cunzie-house" or Mint, which was then near the Palace, and they next entered the Canongate. As they passed the South Garden, which was on the south-west of the Palace, near the base of Salisbury Crags, they were challenged by two sentinels at a gate leading into an "outer close," to whom they replied that they were "my Lord Bothwell's friends," which was considered satisfactory, and they were allowed to pass. They proceeded up the Canongate, and at the Nether-Bow gate, which they found shut, one of them summoned the keeper to "open the port to friends of my Lord Bothwell." They went a short distance up the High Street, Bothwell maintaining strict silence, and enveloped in a long riding-cloak, till they came to Todrig's Wynd, the first alley below Blackfriars' Wynd, which they traversed, and crossed the Cowgate to a gate connected with the former monastery of the Black Friars. Here Bothwell ordered two of them to wait for him, and he walked to the Kirk-of-Field house,

which was in the immediate vicinity. Darnley and his page had ere this time been strangled, and their dead bodies carried into the adjoining garden. Bothwell's appearance was the signal for the murderers previously stationed to complete their purpose, and after some delay the train of gunpowder was ignited, and the house was blown in pieces about two in the morning, when Bothwell, accompanied by two of his dependents, returned to those whom he had left at the Blackfriars' gate, after the absence of half an hour. The party again crossed the Cowgate and separated, running up the Blackfriars' Wynd and another alley, and meeting in the High Street, near the Nether-Bow. They went down an alley on the north side of the High Street, intending to leap over a broken part of the city wall in Leith Wynd; but Bothwell thought it was too high, and, afraid of injuring their limbs, they were again compelled to rouse the gate-keeper at the Nether-Bow, who opened to them as "friends of my Lord Bothwell." They rapidly passed down St Mary's Wynd, and reached Bothwell's house by the road now known as the South Back of the Canongate. Their reply to the sentinels who challenged them was—"Friends of my Lord Bothwell;" and to the question—"What crack was that?"—referring to the explosion which had been heard throughout the city—they declared they knew nothing; and they were told, that if they were "friends of my Lord Bothwell" they might "gang their way." When Bothwell entered his house he called for a drink, undressed, and went to bed, in which he was scarcely half an hour when a domestic rushed in to his apartment, announcing in the greatest

consternation the fate of Darnley—that “the King’s house was blown up, and the King was slain.” “Fie, treason!” exclaimed Bothwell in feigned astonishment, and he instantly rose and attired himself. He was immediately joined by the Earl of Huntly, his brother-in-law, who was in the plot, and they both proceeded to the Queen’s apartments in the Palace, accompanied by several persons connected with the Court.

When Mary was informed of Darnley’s fate she evinced the utmost horror, and secluded herself in her chamber, overwhelmed with sorrow. Early in the day she removed to the Castle for security, and shut herself up in a close apartment, apparently absorbed in grief at the awful crime which had made her a second time a widow. Meanwhile at daybreak multitudes of the citizens crowded to the Kirk-of-Field. Bothwell soon appeared with a guard, to prevent any minute examination of Darnley’s body, which was removed to a house in the vicinity, where it lay till it was inspected by the Privy Council; but in the short interval it was noticed that Darnley and his page were untouched by fire or powder, and that no blood wound was apparent on either. This originated many contradictory reports and conjectures, in which the Queen’s reputation was seriously involved. Her conduct, and the proceedings of her advisers, were narrowly scrutinized, and it was observed to her disadvantage that it was not till Wednesday, two days after the commission of the murder, that a proclamation appeared, offering a reward of only L.2000 to those who would make known the perpetrators. On that very night a paper, or “placard,” was affixed to the door of the Tolbooth, charging the

Earl of Bothwell, Sir James Balfour, and Bothwell's associate David Chambers, as the guilty parties. The Queen meanwhile continued in the Castle, and the body of Darnley was carried to Holyrood, where it lay in state till the 15th of February, five days after the murder.² On the evening of that day it was privately deposited by torchlight in the royal vault in the Chapel-Royal, in presence of the Lord Justice-Clerk Bellenden, and of Sir John Stewart of Traquair, whom the Queen had recently appointed Captain of her Guard.





CHAPTER XI.

MARY AND BOTHWELL.

MARY avoided Holyrood, and remained in the Castle. Her physicians, alarmed for her health, sent a statement to the Privy Council, who advised her to adopt a change of air for a short period, and on the 16th of February, the day after Darnley's funeral, she rode to Seton House, accompanied by the Earls of Bothwell, Huntly, and Argyll, Archbishop Hamilton of St Andrews, Lords Fleming and Livingstone, and Maitland of Lethington, the whole of whom were implicated in the plot, and about one hundred attendants. The Queen continued at Seton House till the 7th of March, and it was remarked that Bothwell advanced in her favour, and enjoyed the most familiar intercourse with her, while the earnest entreaties of Darnley's father Lennox, and of Archbishop Beaton at Paris, to apprehend the murderers denounced by public rumour, were neglected. Scarcely two weeks had elapsed after the commission of a crime which was felt as a stain on the national character, when public feeling was shocked at the gay amusements in which the Court was occupied at Seton. Mary and Bothwell shot at the butts against Huntly and Lord Seton, and on one occasion they compelled the latter to pay the forfeit

by giving a dinner at Tranent.¹ On the 7th of March the Queen returned to Edinburgh Castle, and she again rode to Seton House on the 9th, remaining only one night.

Bothwell and others continued to be publicly accused of Darnley's murder, yet no prosecution of the alleged delinquents was instituted. An affected zeal was at length displayed to bring the murderers to justice, nevertheless little was done in the matter. On the 23d of March the Queen attended a solemn dirge or "saule-mass" in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood for Darnley, which was celebrated by her express command; and it was observed by those who were near her on that occasion, that her health and beauty had undergone a melancholy change, and that she was suffering from acute mental agony. On the mock trial and acquittal of Bothwell on the 12th of April at Edinburgh it is unnecessary to enlarge. It is alleged that, on the 5th of that month, the Queen in one of her migratory visits to Seton House entered into a marriage-contract with Bothwell, which was written by Huntly, then Lord Chancellor, and brother of Bothwell's Countess. On the day of the trial Sir William Drury arrived in Edinburgh with a letter from Elizabeth, and found the city in possession of Bothwell's friends and followers, to the number of four thousand men and two hundred hackbutters. His retainers surrounded the Palace, and perambulated the streets of the city; while the Castle, of which he had been appointed governor on the 19th of March, was at his command. The Queen was then in the Palace, and when Drury presented himself to deliver the letter, the purport of which was suspected,

he was rudely designated an "English villain," who had come to stop the trial, and was informed that the Queen was too busy with other affairs of the day. At that moment Bothwell and Maitland of Lethington came out of the Palace, and Drury gave Elizabeth's epistle to the latter, who returned with Bothwell, and delivered it to Mary. They soon appeared and mounted their horses, and Drury was informed by Maitland that the Queen was asleep, and could not be disturbed. This was immediately discovered to be a falsehood; for a servant of the French ambassador Le Croc, who was near Drury, looking up towards the Palace, saw and pointed out the Queen and Mary Fleming, Maitland's wife, standing at a window. It was also observed that the Queen gave Bothwell a friendly salute as he rode out of the court-yard of the Palace to his pretended trial. He was acquitted, and two days afterwards he increased the excitement against him by carrying some part of the Regalia at the opening of the Parliament. The Queen on this occasion declined the ancient custom of a civic guard from Holyrood formed under the auspices of the Magistrates, preferring a company of hackbutter; and such were the sorrow and indignation at her conduct, that the very market-women exclaimed to her in the street—"God preserve your Grace if you are innocent of the King's death!"

The degradation of Mary was now about to be accomplished. On the 21st of April she left Holyrood to visit the infant Prince at Stirling Castle, and when returning on the 24th, Bothwell, at the head of eight hundred horsemen, seized her person near Almond Bridge, about six miles from Edinburgh, and eleven

miles from Linlithgow. He conveyed the Queen to his castle of Dunbar, and two days afterwards he commenced his process of a divorce from his Countess in the Archbishop of St Andrew's Court, and in the Commissary Court, recently instituted by the Queen. In the former Court his plea was founded on consanguinity, though Lady Jane Gordon, whom he had married only a few months before the birth of James VI., was merely his cousin in the fourth degree of relationship, and in the latter Court it was for adultery committed by him at the instance of his Countess. The marriage was declared null in the Archbishop's Court on the 7th of May, four days after the Consistorial Court had pronounced a similar sentence.

After a brief and it cannot be denied a criminal residence in Dunbar Castle with the man universally accused of the murder of her husband and the seizure of her person, Mary and Bothwell rode to Edinburgh. As it was then believed that Bothwell had forcibly committed violence towards the Queen, the gates were ordered to be shut, the citizens ran to arms, and the artillery of the Castle was fired. On the 6th of May, the third day after the divorce had been pronounced in the Consistorial Court at the instance of Lady Jane Gordon for adultery, and on the day before it was declared in the Court of the Archbishop of St Andrews on the pretence of consanguinity, the Queen entered the city by the West Port, and rode through the Grassmarket, and up the West Bow to the Castle, Bothwell on foot leading her horse by the bridle—a sight witnessed by her friends with the deepest sorrow, and by her enemies with exultation and derision. On

the 8th of May, the day after the divorce was declared in the Archbishop's Court, a proclamation was issued at Holyrood, announcing that the Queen had resolved to marry Bothwell, and on the 11th she removed with him to the Palace. The proclamation of the banns of marriage was reluctantly performed by John Craig, the colleague of Knox, for which he was afterwards vehemently assailed in the General Assembly, though his mode of procedure on the occasion was the reverse of complimentary either to the Queen or to Bothwell.²

On the 12th of May the Queen created Bothwell Duke of Orkney and Marquis of Fife, placing the ducal coronet with her own hands on his head in the Palace. The marriage-contract was signed on the 13th,³ and on Thursday the 15th the unhappy nuptials were celebrated according to the new form by Adam Bothwell, ex-Bishop of Orkney,⁴ in the then council-hall of the Palace, at the early hour of four in the morning. The ceremony was prefaced by a sermon by ex-Bishop Bothwell from the second chapter of the Book of Genesis, in which he enlarged on the bridegroom's penitence for his former life, and his resolution to amend and conform to the discipline of the Protestant preachers. John Craig, who had proclaimed the banns in St Giles's church, when he publicly "took heaven and earth to witness that he abhorred and detested this marriage as odious and slanderous to the world," was nevertheless present. The event was not attended by the usual pageants and rejoicings on such occasions, and few of the leading nobility were in attendance.⁵ It was again observed that Mary was attired in a mourning dress. Sir James Melville relates an anecdote of Bothwell in

Holyrood on the day of the marriage, which shows his immoral and profligate habits, and the unprincipled conduct of Huntly in still associating with the repudiator of his sister. "As for me," he says, "I tarried not at Court but now and then; yet I chanced to be there at the marriage. When I came that time to the Court, I fand my Lord Duc of Orkeney sitting at his supper. He said, I had been a gret stranger, desiring me to sit down and soup with him. The Erle of Huntly, the Justice-Clerk, and dyvers utheris, were sittin at the the table with him. I said that I had already souped. Then he called for a cup of wyne, and drank to me, that I mycht plege him like a Dutchman. He bade me drink it out till (to) grow fatter—'for,' said he, 'the zeall of the commonweill has eaten you up, and made you so lean.' I answerit, that every little member suld serve to some use; but that the care of the commonweill appertenit maist to him and the rest of the nobilitie, wha suld be as fathers to the same. Then he said—'I wist weill he wald find a frind for every boir.' Then he fell in purpose of gentilwomen, speaking sic filthy language that (I) left him, and past up to the Quene, wha was very glad of my comming."⁶

On the night of the marriage a classical proverb was affixed on the gate of the Palace, intimating that disreputable women only marry in the month of May.⁷ Although Mary, after the marriage, assumed a gay dress in Holyrood, and frequently rode out with Bothwell, and although he appeared anxious to treat her with respect, refusing to be covered in her presence, which she occasionally resented in a sportive manner by snatching his bonnet, and putting it on his head,

yet at times his passionate temper violated all restraint, and those who saw the Queen in private soon perceived that she was most unhappy. It was too evident that she was suffering intense mental agony, and her feelings on the very evening of the day of her marriage to Bothwell are described by the French ambassador Le Croc, who visited her in the Palace at her own request. He says that a strange formality was apparent between the Queen and Bothwell, which she entreated Le Croc to excuse, saying that, if he ever saw her sad, it was because she had no wish to be happy, which she never could be, as she wished only for death. Le Croc also mentions that on a certain day, when alone with Bothwell in a closet, she called aloud for a knife to kill herself, which was heard by some of the household in an adjoining room. Sir James Melville states that the Queen was so "disdainfully handlit," and with such "reproachful language," that in the presence of himself and Arthur Erskine she demanded a knife to "stick herself"—"or else," she said, "I shall drown myself." Mary had many warnings not to marry Bothwell, and she was now rapidly approaching the crisis of her fate in Scotland. For a short period after their marriage the Queen and Bothwell publicly conducted themselves as if they had no enemies; and when informed of the private meetings of their opponents, Mary spoke of them with contempt, observing on one occasion—"Atholl is feeble; for Argyll, I know well how to stop his mouth; as for Morton, his boots are new pulled off, and still soiled; he shall be sent back to his old quarters"—alluding to his banishment to England; but an alarm was soon to

be sounded to the nation, summoning all true subjects to rescue the Queen from the power of the man with whom she had fatally linked herself.

A most formidable confederacy was now organized, consisting of all the leading nobility, and it was intended to seize the Queen and Bothwell in Holyrood. The latter was too cautious to leave Mary at liberty, and he seems to have considered her as a person who required to be watched, that he might successfully work out his own purposes. Sir James Melville prominently notices Bothwell's "mishandling of her, and many indignities that he hath both said and done unto her since their marriage was made." The Earl of Argyll sent private information to the Queen of the meditated invasion of Holyrood, which induced her and Bothwell to remove to Borthwick Castle, six miles beyond Dalkeith, on the 6th of June. From Borthwick Castle the Queen with difficulty escaped on the 11th to Dunbar Castle disguised in male attire, and on the 12th a proclamation summoned the lieges to convene from all the principal towns by an act of the Privy Council to deliver the Queen from the alleged captivity in which she was held by Bothwell. Mary surrendered herself to the confederated nobility at Carberry Hill near Musselburgh on the 15th of June, and this was the last time she saw Bothwell, who fled a fugitive and became a pirate for a time among the Orkney Islands, till he was immured in a Danish prison, in which he terminated his guilty career. Mary was brought to Edinburgh in the most humiliating manner, almost naked, disfigured with dust and tears, riding between the Earls of Morton and Atholl. She was lodged in the house in the High Street called the Black


Turnpike for the night amid the execrations of the multitude. On the following day the Queen was removed to Holyrood, when the citizens, who had considerably relented, were appeased by the promise of her liberty. But the project of 1565 to immure her in Lochleven Castle was now revived, and finally determined. On the night of the 16th of June the Queen was hastily conveyed thither under the charge of Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, men of ferocious dispositions. Before Mary left the Palace she was compelled to relinquish the dress of her rank, and to array herself in coarse garments. She was not even allowed to select one change of clothes for her personal comfort, and in this wretched attire she rode on a miserable horse to Lochleven, a distance of nearly thirty miles from Edinburgh. Such was the conclusion of Mary's extraordinary career at Holyrood, which she left on the 16th of June never to return.





CHAPTER XII.

HOLYROOD IN THE REIGN OF JAMES VI.

HE Earl of Moray was chosen Regent for the infant prince James VI., who was now proclaimed King, and Mary was forcibly compelled to sign her own abdication in Lochleven Castle. On the 24th day of June, a week after the Queen's commitment, the Earl of Glencairn and his retainers sacrilegiously attacked the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, but confined his ravages to the interior, destroying the altar, tearing down the pictures, and defacing the ornaments. This was not the first outrage of the kind committed by the Earl in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood. Knox says that Glencairn broke the altars and images; yet in the "Inventar of the Quenis Grace Chapell-Royall geir and ornaments now heir in the Paleiss of Halyruidhouss, deliverit by Sir James Paterson, sacristane, at the Quene's command to Serves de Condé, Frenchman," dated 11th January 1561-2, neither crucifixes nor images are mentioned, and no allusion occurs to any gold or silver vessels. At the time Glencairn committed the above desecration, an inventory was taken of all the Queen's plate, jewels, and other moveables, the former of which was sent to the Mint to be

converted into coin. A cupboard of silver plate belonging to the Queen, which was seized, is said to have weighed not less than two hundred and fifty-six pounds.

Little is known of the state of Holyrood during the short regencies of Moray, and of his successors Lennox, Mar, and Morton. In 1569 Lord Robert Stuart, Commandator of Holyrood, exchanged his abbacy with Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, for the temporalities of that See, and by that singular transaction some information is obtained of the condition of the Chapel-Royal at the time. The fifth of the Articles presented against Adam Bothwell in the General Assembly on the 1st of March 1569-70 was, that the twenty-seven parish churches belonging to the Abbey were for the most part so decayed that some of them were used as sheep-folds, and others so ruinous that it was dangerous to enter them, "specially Halyrudhous, althocht the Bishop of St Andrews, in time of Papistry, sequestrat the hail rents of the said Abbacy because only the glassen windows were not halden up and repaired." To this he answered, that he had only of late obtained possession of the benefice—that most of the parish churches connected with it were destroyed by "greedy persons" at the commencement of the Reformation, and he was unable to repair them from his small portion of the livings—that he had made the parish churches of St Cuthbert and Libberton¹ in better condition than they had been for twenty years past—that, as it respects the Abbey Church of Holyrood, it had been dangerous to be within it for twenty years past by the decay of two of the principal pillars, and the sum of L.2000 would scarcely warrant

its security "to the hearing of the word and administration of the Sacraments," but with their consent, and the enforcement of legal authority, he intended to "provide the means that the superfluous ruinous parts, to-wit, the queir and cross kirk,² might be disposed by faithful men to repair the same sufficiently;" and farther, that "there was an order to be used for the reparation of kirks, whereunto the parishioners were obliged as well as he, and when they concurred his support should not be wanting."³ This transaction of the exchange of the property of the Bishopric of Orkney by Adam Bothwell for the Abbacy of Holyrood was ratified by charter under the Great Seal, dated 25th September 1569, upwards of five months before he was impeached in the General Assembly.

The new possessor of the Abbacy of Holyrood, notwithstanding the function which he performed when he married Queen Mary and his titled namesake, soon joined in the association against the latter, and was employed by the insurgents to crown the infant James VI. on the 29th of July 1567. He had also accompanied Kirkaldy of Grange in the pursuit of Bothwell in Orkney. Their ship was named the Unicorn, and four vessels, the whole heavily armed and carrying four hundred soldiers, soon reached the Orkneys, whence they were directed to Shetland for the object of their search. They saw Bothwell's piratical vessels, which entered Bressay Sound followed by Kirkaldy in the Unicorn. So close was the chase that Bothwell escaped by the north passage of the Sound, when the Unicorn came in at the south. The pursuit was continued north-

ward, till it was stopped by Kirkaldy's ship striking on a rock dry at low water, and becoming a complete wreck, scarcely allowing time to get out a boat, and save the crew and the soldiers. One man in armour was seen on the wreck, and the deeply laden boat was about to leave him to his fate, disregarding his cries, when by a desperate leap he sprang into the centre, causing the boat to reel by his additional weight. Who would have surmised that this "athletic man-at-arms, the last to quit the wreck, was a Bishop—the Bishop who had so lately joined the hand of him whom he pursued, with that of Queen Mary—the very Bishop who a month before had poured the holy oil on the infant head of James VI., and stood proxy for the extorted abdication of that monarch's mother? It was Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney! The rock from which he leaped can be seen at low water, and is called the 'Unicorn' to this day."⁴

Adam Bothwell resigned the Abbacy of Holyrood in favour of his eldest son John before 1581. On the 24th of February 1581–2, the 8th of December 1582, and the 11th of July 1593, the year of his father's death and interment in the Abbey church, where his monument with an inflated inscription is still to be seen, John Bothwell obtained charters of the Abbey of Holyrood, which in 1607 was erected into a temporal lordship in his favour, and he was created a peer by the title of Lord Holyroodhouse.⁵

The minority of James VI. was passed in Stirling Castle, and the inmates of the Palace during that period were probably the royal domestics. About the end of September 1579 the King made his first public entry

into Edinburgh, and proceeded direct to Holyrood. He was then in his fourteenth year, and he took possession of his Palace with great splendour, amid the acclamations of the citizens. On this occasion the office of Lord High Chamberlain was revived, and conferred on Esme Stuart, Lord D'Aubigny, the King's cousin, who had recently arrived from France, and was soon afterwards created Duke of Lennox. James VI., however, was not often a resident in Holyrood till some years afterwards. The seizure of his person in the Raid of Ruthven, in August 1582, enabled the parties connected with that affair to bring him to Edinburgh; and in a convention held in the Palace it was proposed to raise two hundred horse and two hundred foot nominally for his protection, though the object was to secure his detention. The King contrived to escape from his keepers on the following year in Fifeshire, and the next notice which occurs of him in connection with Holyrood is on the 13th May 1586, when he convened in the Palace all the Nobility who were at feud, and, after a banquet, he caused them to "shake hands togidder, and to drink ane to ane ither." He then formed a procession of them to the Cross in the High Street, walking hand in hand, and accompanying them himself, that the citizens might witness the reconciliation he had effected. The Town-Council were as usual compelled to be parties to this exhibition by providing copious libations of wine at the Cross.

On the 6th of May 1590, James VI. brought his Queen, Anne of Denmark, to Holyrood,⁶ the marriage, it is said, having been a second time solemnized in St Giles's church; and on the 17th of that month she

was crowned in the Chapel-Royal, the Duke of Lennox and Lord Hamilton presiding at the solemnity. On the 19th they publicly entered Edinburgh at the West Port, and proceeded through the city to the Palace amid great rejoicings. It is recorded of the pageant by an eye-witness, that "young boys, with artificial wings, at her entrey did flee towards her, and presented her two silver keys of the city; the Castell shot off all its ordnance five several times, and at night the towne was put full of bonefyres."⁷ On this occasion the Magistrates proceeded to the Palace, and presented the Queen with a rich jewel, which James had deposited with them as security for a considerable sum of money he borrowed from them, and they were compelled to take his verbal promise as a pledge of payment, which he never found convenient to remember.

The feastings and rejoicings continued at Holyrood and in the city for a month, when the Danish attendants of the Queen departed amply stored with presents. Nevertheless the King's pecuniary raids against the Magistrates continued, and, summoning them one day to the Palace, he obliged them to borrow from him L.40,000 Scots, a part of the Queen's marriage-portion recently paid to him, exacting from them double the rate of interest for which they could have borrowed the money elsewhere. In all his speculations with the Town-Council the King was zealously supported by the Incorporated Trades, the deacons of which he had contrived to attach to his interest.

The violent conduct of Francis Earl of Bothwell was at this time conspicuous. One of his projects was to secure the person of James VI., which he repeatedly

attempted. On the 22d of June 1591, he escaped from Edinburgh Castle, and after a brief sojourn in Caithness he repaired to the English Border, where he endeavoured to raise a force to overawe the King. Under the pretence of expelling his enemy, the Sub-Chancellor Maitland, from the royal councils, and favoured by some of the King's attendants, Bothwell appeared in Edinburgh on the 27th of December 1591,⁸ and was admitted late in the evening into the court-yard of Holyrood. His adherents immediately raised the cry—"Justice! justice! a Bothwell! a Bothwell!" The forfeited Earl then hastened to the King's apartments, the doors of which he found carefully secured—notice of his invasion having been obtained by Sir James Melville and his brother Sir Robert two days previously, and the King had received sufficient warning, which he thought proper to disregard. Bothwell called for fire to burn the doors which resisted his weapons, and the Queen's apartments were also attacked, on the supposition that the King would be found in one of them. The door of a gallery was successfully defended by Henry Lindsay, Master of the Queen's Household, and the King was conveyed to a turret of the Palace, which he reached opportunely while the invaders were assailing the doors with hammers, and demanding fire to consume the resisting obstacles. During this tumult the brother of Scot of Balwearie was shot in the thigh, and two of the King's domestics were killed on the south side of the Palace. Bothwell was compelled to retire, leaving nine of his followers in custody, who were hanged without trial next day betwixt the Girth Cross and the porch of the Palace.⁹

The King went on the day after this attempt to St Giles's church, and made a speech to the congregation on his deliverance. The outrage revived the prosecutions against Bothwell and his accomplices, among whom are enumerated his Countess, James Douglas of Spott, Archibald Wauchope, younger of Niddry, and several gentlemen. On the 5th of June 1592 the Parliament ratified the forfeiture of Bothwell and several others, for "invading his Majesty's maist noble person by fyre and sword, breaking up his chamber-doors with fore-hammers, and cruelly slaying his Highness' servants."

Bothwell either cared little for those proceedings against him, or he was rendered desperate as outlawed and attainted. Although he escaped with difficulty from the outrage in Holyrood, he made a second unsuccessful attempt to secure the King's person on the 17th of July 1592 in Falkland Palace, where James usually resided during the summer and autumn months. So numerous are the denouncings of Bothwell, his partisans and "resetters," that one would almost think the Government did nothing else than level anathemas against them. Yet he had many powerful friends, and he formed a party in his favour among the Presbyterian ministers, whose influence was so considerable, that whenever they were pleased to annoy the King they could defy the Government. It is said that Queen Elizabeth interceded for him, and he was invited from exile by the Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Atholl, and Lord Ochiltree, noblemen of his own name. The repeated proclamations against him had excited a vast sympathy in his favour, and many, especially the secret enemies of the Court favourites,

considered him a persecuted individual. Bothwell soon returned to Edinburgh, and it was arranged that he should prevent himself before the King in Holyrood on the 24th of July 1593, some weeks after his attainder in the High Court of Justiciary. It is stated that Bothwell seized the gates of the Palace, and was followed by a number of armed retainers into the royal apartments. He had lodged the preceding night in Lady Gowrie's house behind the Palace. He found the King coming from the back stair in the utmost alarm, his "breeks in his hand in ane feir," and James, without attendants, and unable to resist a band of armed men, called to him to consummate his treason by piercing his sovereign to the heart. Bothwell, however, laid down his drawn sword, fell on his knees, and implored pardon. James yielded from necessity to his entreaties, and a few days afterwards actually signed a capitulation with this rebellious and outlawed peer, to whom he was now in reality a prisoner, in which he pledged himself to remit all his past offences, and procure a ratification of it in Parliament, Bothwell on his part promising to withdraw from the Court, and live peaceably on his own estate. This was of short duration, and it was evidently impossible for him to remain in quietude. He eventually fled to England, from which Elizabeth expelled him in compliance with the remonstrances of James VI., who had adjusted his quarrels with the preachers, and induced them to excommunicate the fugitive. Bothwell retired to the Continent, and lived several years in obscurity and indigence, plunging into the lowest and most infamous debauchery, in which condition he died, the King refusing to listen to any

intercession on his behalf, or to be influenced by offers of submission.

James VI. continued to reside in Holyrood, varying his public and domestic movements by resorting to Linlithgow, Stirling, Falkland, and to Dunfermline, which was his Queen's jointure palace and the birth-place of some of his children. The birth of his eldest son Prince Henry, in 1594, induced the Magistrates of Edinburgh to send ten tuns of wine to Holyrood, and they commissioned one hundred of the citizens to be present at the baptism. As this was a most unexpected and acceptable gift, James invited the Magistrates to the baptism of the Princess Elizabeth in Holyrood on the 28th of November 1596. This was considered so complimentary by the civic functionaries, that they engaged to give the Princess 10,000 merks on her marriage-day, which they honourably fulfilled, adding 5000 to the sum.

On the 17th of December 1596 occurred the serious riot in which the mob attacked the King, who was transacting some state business in the Tolbooth. This disorder was occasioned by the Presbyterian ministers, between whom and the King a mortal feud had existed some time, and who were then assembled in St Giles's church. It was announced to the King that they were coming to murder him, and the utmost excitement prevailed, some exclaiming—"For God and the King!" and others—"For God and the Kirk!" The insurgents were repulsed, and eventually soothed by the assurance that their petitions would be favourably received by the King, who was allowed to return without molestation to Holyrood, escorted by the Incorporated Trades.

Early on the following morning, however, James and his Privy Council departed to Linlithgow, and a proclamation was immediately issued, declaring Edinburgh to be a dangerous residence for the Court and the administration of justice, and ordering the judges, the nobility, and others, to retire from the city, to which they were not to return without the royal permission. On the 20th the Magistrates were ordered to apprehend and commit to the Castle ten of the leading Presbyterian preachers, who were summoned to appear before the Privy Council on the 23d, to answer for their seditious conduct, and on the 25th they and some of the citizens were denounced as rebels. Those proceedings were followed by several stringent measures against the city; and the inhabitants were in a state of despair at the threat to deprive Edinburgh of its advantages as the seat of the Court and of the Supreme Judicature. On the last day of December the King returned to Holyrood, and appointed several noblemen to take possession of the city gates, while he proceeded to St Giles's church to hear a sermon by Mr David Lindsay of Leith after which he rose and addressed the congregation, denouncing the seditious ministers. The interposition of Queen Elizabeth afforded James, who was actuated more by policy than inclination, a pretext for abating his resentment; and a reconciliation was effected on certain conditions, one of which was that the city should pay a fine of 20,000, or, according to Birrel, 30,000 merks. This was willingly done, although the coffers were in a most deplorable condition, and the quarrel ended in a carousal of the Town-Council, at which the King was present, drinking with the "Bailies and Deacons," the

bells of St Giles's church sounding their peals, and bands of music parading the streets.


In 1598 Holyrood received a royal visitor in the person of Philip, Duke of Holstein, the brother of Queen Anne, who arrived in Edinburgh on the 14th of March. The Town-Council invited him to a banquet in "Macmorran's lodging" on the 2d of May, at which the King and Queen were present, and on the 3d of June the Duke embarked at Leith for Denmark.¹⁰





CHAPTER XIII.

HOLYROOD AFTER THE ACCESSION OF JAMES VI. TO THE CROWN OF ENGLAND.

HE death of Queen Elizabeth, on the 24th day of March 1603, obtained for James VI. the great object of his ambition, the crown of England. Sir Robert Carey,¹ unknown to the English Privy Council, instantly left London for Edinburgh, and he arrived at Holyrood with remarkable celerity, considering the then state of the roads. Carey was well known to James VI., into whose good graces he had insinuated himself when he came to Scotland with Secretary Walshingham. The King had retired before Carey appeared at Holyrood, but he was quickly admitted, and conveyed to the royal bed-chamber, where he knelt, and saluted James as King of England. He was thus the first person to announce to James VI. his accession. The King gave him his hand to kiss, and bade him welcome. Carey, after narrating the particulars of Elizabeth's decease, told the King, that instead of bringing letters from the English Privy Council he had narrowly and purposely avoided them; but he could produce an undoubted evidence of his veracity, and he presented a blue sapphire ring. This ring was from Lady Scroope, Carey's sister, one of those

connected with Elizabeth's Court with whom James VI. maintained a constant correspondence some years before her death, and it had been sent to her by the King with positive instructions to return it to him by a special messenger as soon as the Queen expired. Lady Scroope had no opportunity of delivering it to her brother while he was in the Palace of Richmond, and waiting at the window till she saw him outside of the gate, she threw it to him, and he well knew what it intimated. James, still in bed, took the ring, carefully examined it, and said—"It is enough; I know by this you are a true messenger." Carey was entrusted to the charge of Alexander sixth Lord Home, who was ordered to treat him hospitably. The King sent his surgeons to assist in curing a wound he had received by a fall, and a stroke from his horse on the head after he left Norham, and when he kissed the hand of James at retiring for the night he was told—"I know you have lost a near kinswoman and a loving mistress; but take here my hand, I will be as good a master to you, and will requite this service with honour and reward." A few days afterwards Carey was sworn one of the Gentlemen of the King's bed-chamber by Ludovick Duke of Lennox; but notwithstanding the above royal pledge he observes—"I only relied on God and the King. The one never left me: the other, shortly after his coming to London, deceived my expectations, and adhered to those who sought my ruin."

Three days after Elizabeth's death the keys of Berwick were presented to James VI. in Holyrood, and on the 28th John Bothwell,² Commendator of Holyrood, took possession of that town. On the same day James

sent a letter to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, dated Holyroodhouse, thanking them for their activity in proclaiming him King. James now made arrangements for his speedy departure to London. On Sunday the 3d of April he went to St Giles's church, and after the sermon, which he is said to have taken in "good part," intimating that the preacher indulged in some liberties, he rose from his seat, and addressed a crowded congregation, who were deeply affected, and expressed their grief by sobs and tears. On the 5th of April the King left Holyrood for England, attended by a numerous cavalcade of the Scottish nobility and gentry, and English knights. He was followed on the 1st of June by the Queen and Prince Charles, who on the 28th of May came to Holyrood from Stirling, and on the 30th took leave of the citizens in St Giles's church, to which the local chronicler says she was "weill convoyit with coaches, herself and the Prince in her awn coache, quhilk came home with her out of Denmark, and the English gentlewomen in the rest of the coaches. They heard ane guid sermone in the kirk, and thereafter raid hame to Halyrudhouse."³ A suitable escort accompanied the Queen, and her other children left the Palace on the day after.

The promise of James in St Giles's church to visit Holyrood every third year was never realized, and it was not till 1617 that he was enabled to enter his native kingdom. The Chapel-Royal was used as the parish church of the Canongate, and the occasional inmates of Holyrood from time to time were the Officers of State and members of the Privy Council, some of whom date their letters to King James from the Palace.

From the end of October 1615 to his death on the 15th of February 1619, William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway, officiated at Holyrood as Dean of the Chapel-Royal, and this pious prelate seems to have attracted a numerous congregation. Previous to the King's arrival in Edinburgh in 1617, the Chapel-Royal was ordered to be repaired, and workmen were sent from London to ornament the interior with gilt and carved work in wood consisting of statues of the Apostles. An organ was also intended to be placed in a gallery above the west grand entrance. This threatened to excite a popular tumult, and a letter of remonstrance, written by Bishop Cowper, and signed by Archbishop Spottiswode and several of the Bishops, procured the omission of the decorations. James in his reply censured the Scottish Bishops for their contracted views, and intimated that some English divines in his train would enlighten them on those matters.

A letter from Secretary Lake, dated Edinburgh, 6th June 1617, to Sir Dudley Carleton, notices the then state of the Chapel-Royal. He states that "his Majesty hath set up his chapel here in like manner of service as it is in England, which is well frequented by the people of this country." According to the Earl of Dunfermline, the Chapel-Royal was at this time almost rebuilt. His Lordship wrote to the King—"Your Majestie's chappell in Halyrudhous build up of new, with all ornaments and due furnitour (which) might be required in any royall chappell, and maist magnificcklie deckt and set furth."⁴ The zealous Calderwood writes—"Upon Saturday, the 17th of May, the English service, singing of choristers, and playing on organs,

and surplices, were first heard and seen in the Chapel-Royal."

The intended visit of King James in 1617 caused some alterations also in the Palace of Holyrood, which are detailed in the "Warrant for repairing his Majesty's Houssis," issued by the Scottish Privy Council on the 22d of May 1616. In that document the Palaces of Holyrood and Falkland, and the Castle of Stirling, are specially mentioned. A commission was granted to James Murray, Master of Works to the King, to take down the roof which was thatched of the lodging above the outer gate or porch called the *Chancellor's Lodging*, and as much of the stone walls as was necessary, and to rebuild the same in a substantial manner. The apartment within the Palace known as the *Steward's Chalmer* was to be removed, and not to be rebuilt on account of the "deformitie and disproportion that it has with the rest of the building thair;" the apartment or gallery called *Sir Roger Ashton's Chalmer* was to be taken down and rebuilt in a "convenient forme;" as was also *Chancellor Maitland's Kitchen* at the end of the *Duke's Transe*,⁵ and the "too-falls" in the *Bake-house Yard*, and the dykes or walls, were to be altogether removed, so that "of the yard ane perfyte cloise may be made."⁶

The King was not unmindful of his own personal comforts, knowing well that his residences in Scotland were scantily furnished. The Earl of Dunfermline, in his recapitulatory letter, reminds James of the "furnitour of silver wark, and plaite, tapestrie, rich beds and bedding, and all sic necessaries for ane royal house," which he sent to Holyrood, Falkland, and Stirling, before his arrival, and which it appears were allowed to remain

after the King returned to England, and "may serve," says the Earl, "for many ages, as the same served your sacred Majestie at this tyme maist honorable and plentifulie."⁷ The whole expense in Scotland was defrayed by Sir Gideon Murray, Treasurer-Depute, father of the first Lord Elibank, who had so prudently managed the public revenue that he was enabled to repair and erect additions to the royal palaces and castles without any increased taxation.⁸

The royal visit had been officially announced to the Scottish Privy Council in 1616; and on the 24th of December a "Direction" was issued, ordering the Magistrates to procure a list of all the lodgings and stables within Edinburgh, the Canongate, and suburbs, to "foresee and provide that there be good ludgeings within the saidis bounds for fyve thousand men, and stables for fyve thousand horse," and, if accommodation to that extent could not be obtained, temporary stables were to be erected. The bedding was enjoined to be "honest and clene," the napery and linen to be "wele washin and smellit," to prevent any invidious remarks by the English retinue. On the same day was issued a thundering "Act against beggars," and their "resetters," in the city, suburbs, and surrounding parishes; and another, on the 13th of February 1617, on which day it was also announced, that as all the lodgings and stables in the Canongate would be required for the King's train and followers, those who had already hired or intended to hire such accommodation must provide themselves elsewhere. The Tennis-Court near the Palace was ordered to be repaired.

James entered his native city on the 16th of May, and

was received in the most enthusiastic manner. Drummond of Hawthornden had prepared a prose speech which he intended to recite at the West Port; but by some means or other he was prevented from delivering his oration.⁹ The King proceeded to Holyrood by the Grassmarket, West Bow, High Street, and the Canon-gate, after hearing a sermon by Archbishop Spottiswoode in St Giles's church, and knighting William Nisbet of Dean, the Provost, at St John's Cross in the Canon-gate. Mr John Hay, Clerk Register-Depute, welcomed the King at the Palace in an address containing the grossest flattery, and James then entered the Chapel-Royal, to be edified by another sermon from Archbishop Spottiswoode. Returning to the Palace, the King was presented at the gate of the inner court with a book of Latin poems, a copy of which is preserved in the Library of the British Museum, beautifully bound in crimson velvet and superbly gilt, and conjectured to be the identical volume presented to James. The authors of those laudatory effusions were the Professors in the University of Edinburgh, and a Latin speech was delivered in their name by Mr Patrick Nisbet. The Magistrates entertained the King and his retinue at a sumptuous banquet.

It is unnecessary to enumerate the progresses of James during this visit to Scotland, and all the pedantry and flattery displayed, in the present narrative. On the 8th of June the learned Bishop Andrewes, then of Ely, preached before the King in the Chapel-Royal,¹⁰ and on the same day Sir Thomas Lake, eldest son of Secretary Lake, was knighted. On the 11th, the King went to

the Castle of Dalkeith, then the seat of William seventh Earl of Morton. The Parliament had met on the 27th of May in the "Over Tolbooth," and from the 17th to the 28th of June the King daily attended, riding thither the first day in great state. The King left Holyrood immediately after the rising of the Parliament on the 28th of June, and entered Stirling on the 30th. He returned to England by Glasgow, Paisley, Hamilton, and Dumfries.

Some incidents occurred at Holyrood during the King's visit, which illustrate the theological feeling of the time. James had succeeded in establishing the Episcopal Church without much apparent difficulty. The 8th of June, the day on which Bishop Andrewes preached in the Chapel-Royal, was Whitsunday, the communion was administered, and, according to some writers, it was the first time since the Reformation that it was given kneeling. Bishop Cowper of Galloway at first refused, but he soon relinquished his opposition. An English soldier was interred in the adjacent burying-ground of the Chapel-Royal, and much offence was taken at the future Archbishop Laud appearing in a surplice at the reading of the Order for the Burial of the Dead at the grave.

In 1618 the General Assembly, the last in Scotland till 1638, was held at Perth, and ratified the celebrated Five Articles. On Easter Sunday that year the communion was administered kneeling in the Chapel-Royal by Bishop Cowper, and the edifice was then provided with an organ. On Christmas day that year, Bishop Cowper, in a sermon which is printed, eloquently defended the Five Articles of Perth in the Chapel-Royal,


and Calderwood states that "many resorted to him out of curiosity, because he promised to give them resolution that day for observing of holydays;" though he chooses to add, but on no satisfactory authority, that "he was so impertinent and frivolous in his arguments that he was mocked." The Bishop died on the 15th of February following in his fifty-third year, and was interred in the Greyfriars' burying-ground, where a flat tombstone with a Latin inscription, close to the south wall of the New Greyfriars' church, indicates his grave.





CHAPTER XIV.

CORONATION OF CHARLES I. AT HOLYROOD.

N Sunday the 15th of June 1630, Sir James Balfour was solemnly inaugurated Lord Lyon-King-at-Arms in the Chapel-Royal by the Lord Chancellor Dupplin, the King's Commissioner; and the Lord Lyon, after the ceremony, banqueted the Commissioner, the Privy Council, and the Judges of the Court of Session, in the Earl of Linlithgow's house adjoining to the Palace. Conventions of the Estates were held at Holyrood on the 28th of July, the 3d of November 1630, the 31st of March, the 20th of April, the 26th of July 1631, and the 7th of September 1632, in which several regulations were enacted;¹ but nothing of importance occurs in the history of the Palace and its Chapel-Royal till 1633, when both were the scene of the coronation and festivities of Charles I. On Saturday the 15th of June, the King, accompanied by Laud, then Bishop of London and Dean of the Chapel-Royal, White, then Bishop of Ely, and a number of the English nobility and gentry, entered Edinburgh on horseback, amid the greatest pomp and magnificence,² and arrived at Holyrood by the same route through the city traversed by his father in 1617. On Sunday he attended divine service in the Chapel-Royal, which was performed by his

chaplain, Bishop Bellenden of Dunblane. On Monday the 17th, William Earl of Angus was created Marquis of Douglas, and George Viscount Dupplin was created Earl of Kinnoull, in the drawing-room of the Palace, and eleven gentlemen were knighted, after which the King went privately in his coach to the Castle, in which he passed the night, and on the following day was the coronation.

On the occasion of that ceremonial a stage or platform was erected in the centre of the Chapel-Royal, four feet above the floor and twenty-four feet in length and breadth, which was fastened to the four centre pillars of the church. This platform was surrounded by a railing, and covered with carpets. In the centre, looking towards the west, and fronting the organ gallery, was an entrance to the platform with three steps, and there was the same egress towards the east, fronting the altar or communion table, which was of course under the east window. On this platform was another elevation two feet in height, which was reached by two steps, richly decorated, and on it the throne was placed. A chair covered with crimson velvet, embroidered with gold, was placed on the right between the platform and the communion table, with a footstool and cushions, and before this chair was a small table covered with crimson velvet, fringed and laced with gold, on which lay a richly ornamented Bible. On the south side of the communion table a temporary apartment was screened off by crimson taffeta, as a convenient place for the King to disrobe.

The pulpit was placed near the communion table, on the north side of the Chapel-Royal, covered with

crimson velvet, and on the west of the pulpit were placed two seats for the Lord Archbishop of St Andrews and the other officiating prelates. Immediately in front of the communion table was placed what Sir James Balfour calls a little desk, covered with a rich embroidery of gold and green silk, and before it were cushions on which the King knelt during divine service. On a small table near the south end of the communion table, covered with green velvet, laced and fringed with gold, were placed the Crown, Sceptre, and Sword of Scotland, the Great Seal of the kingdom, and the Spurs, when his Majesty entered the church.

On the morning of the 18th a splendid procession of the Nobility, Officers of State, and public functionaries, preceded the King from the Castle to Holyrood.³ Six trumpeters first emerged from the Castle gate, two and two, clothed in scarlet and gold lace; then came the Barons in scarlet robes, followed by the Bishops in their robes. Next were the Viscounts and Earls, followed by Dr Patrick Lindsay, Archbishop of Glasgow, unattended. The Great Officers of State succeeded, who were followed by six pursuivants, two and two; York Herald of England, alone; then six heralds, two and two, preceding Norroy King of Arms of England. The Master of Requests came next, attended by the celebrated and truly loyal Dr John Guthry, Bishop of Moray, who acted as Almoner for that day. Sir James Balfour, the Lord Lyon King-at-Arms, followed, supported by two gentlemen ushers, after whom came in order the Earl of Eglinton bearing the Spurs, the Earl of Buchan bearing the Sword, and the Earl of Rothes bearing the Sceptre. The Crown was carried by the

Earl of Arran, of the illustrious and now ducal house of Hamilton, supported on his right hand by the Earl of Errol, Lord High Constable, and on his left by the Duke of Lennox and the Earl Marischal. All these noblemen were on horseback, the Earls, Viscounts, and Lyon King-at-Arms, says James Balfour, having "ther crounes and capes carried by gentlemen on the left syde of ther horses, hard by the stirupe." Then appeared the King, dressed in crimson velvet, riding on a rich "foote clothe," his train carried by several noblemen and gentlemen; on each side of his Majesty were three gentlemen of the royal stables on foot, richly dressed. After the King came the Marquis of Hamilton, the first peer of the realm, Master of his Majesty's Horse; next the Earl of Suffolk, Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners; and last of all the Earl of Holland, Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, followed by the yeomen, who brought up the procession.

The entry to the great court of Holyrood was railed at each side, and the pavement covered with blue cloth, on which the King walked till he reached the grand western door of the Chapel-Royal. A canopy of crimson velvet, laced and fringed with gold, under which the King walked, was carried by the eldest sons of six Earls and a Viscount, supported by six Barons. At the great western door of the Chapel-Royal the King was received by Dr John Spottiswoode, Archbishop of St Andrews, Lord Primate of Scotland. When he entered the sacred edifice the King knelt down in a devotional manner for a short space, and then rising, a procession was formed towards the elevated platform in the middle of the church, composed of the Arch-

bishop, the Dean of the Chapel-Royal, several Bishops, preceded by the choristers of the Royal Chapel, and followed by the King, supported by the Nobility and great Officers of State. As soon as his Majesty rose from his brief devotions he was conveyed to a chair placed against the western pillar of the church on the north side, where he sat down, and was addressed in a short and loyal speech by the Rev. James Hannay, preacher of the Chapel-Royal. The King then rose, and moved forward along the church, the choir receiving him with the anthem on the organ—"Behold, O Lord, our Protector, and look upon the face of thine Anointed; because one day in thy court is better than a thousand." The King ascended the elevated platform in the middle of the church, and sat down in the royal chair.

While the King was thus resting, the Crown, Sceptre, Sword, and Spurs, were delivered by their respective noble bearers to the chief gentleman usher, who laid those insignia of royalty on the small table placed for them, already noticed, on the south side of the communion table. Sir James Balfour, as Lord Lyon, then appeared carrying a gold ampulla or vessel, containing the anointing oil, which he had received from the Dean of the Chapel-Royal at the great western door. This he delivered to Archbishop Spottiswoode, who deposited it on the communion table.

The King, after reclining a short time in the chair on the platform, now left it, and moved to the chair of state opposite the pulpit. The ceremony commenced with a sermon preached by Dr David Lindsay, Bishop of Brechin, from the First Book of Kings, i. 39. When this was concluded the King returned to his chair

on the platform. The Archbishop of St Andrews, accompanied by the Lord High Constable, the Earl Marischal, and the Lord Lyon, who went before the Primate, addressed the people from each corner of the platform:—"Sirs, I present unto you King Charles, the rightful heir of the crown and dignity of this realm. This day is by the peers of the kingdom appointed for the coronation of his Majesty. Are you willing to acknowledge him as your sovereign, and to be dutiful and obedient subjects?" The people responded with loud acclamations—"God save King Charles!" During the Archbishop's announcement to the assemblage the King stood, and turned himself in the direction of the Primate at every corner. The choir then commenced the anthem,—“Let thy hand be strengthened,” and the 80th Psalm, concluding as usual with the “*Gloria Patri*.” When the anthem was sung the Archbishop returned to the communion table, and sat down.

The King now approached the communion table, supported by Dr Adam Bellenden, Bishop of Dunblane and Dean of the Chapel-Royal, on the right, and by Bishop Guthry of Moray on the left, where he made his oblation, which was received in a gold cup by the Primate. His Majesty then knelt at the desk already mentioned, during which time the Archbishop said a prayer. He then sat down in his chair, and the Archbishop approached him from the communion table, and asked if he was ready to take the oaths appointed to be put on such occasions. An answer was returned in the affirmative, and the Archbishop proceeded—"Sir, will you promise to serve Almighty God to the uttermost of your power, as He hath required in His

most holy Word, and, according to the same Word, maintain the true religion of Christ now preached and possessed within this realm, abolishing and withstanding whatsoever is contrary to the same; and will you diligently oppose all heretics and enemies of the true worship of God who shall be so convicted by the true Church of God?"

The King answered—"I promise faithfully so to do."

The Archbishop again demanded—"Sir, will you promise to rule the people subject to you according to the laws and constitution of this realm, causing justice and equity to be administered impartially; and to procure peace to the uttermost of your power to the Church of God, and amongst all Christian people?"

The King answered—"I grant and promise so to do."

The Archbishop next demanded—"Sir, will you likewise promise to preserve and keep inviolate the privileges, rights, and revenues of the crown of Scotland, and not to transfer and alienate them in any way?"

The King answered—"I promise so to do."

The Archbishop finally said—"We also beseech you to grant and preserve unto us of the clergy, and to the churches committed to our charge, all canonical privileges, and that you will defend and protect us, as every Christian and pious King ought in his kingdom to defend his Bishops and the churches under their government."

The King answered—"With a willing heart I grant the same, and promise to maintain you all and individually, with all the churches committed to your

charge, in your whole rights and privileges, according to law and justice."

His Majesty, rising from his chair, now approached the communion table, and laying his hand on the Bible, he said with an audible voice—"All the things which I have now promised I shall observe and keep, so help me God, and by the contents of this book." He returned to the chair of state, and the hymn *Veni Creator* was sung by the choir. The King then knelt, while the Archbishop said a prayer appropriate for the occasion; and the Litany was read and chanted by Bishop Guthry of Moray and Dr John Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam in Ireland. The service of the Church of England was used throughout, with the addition of some prayers adapted to the circumstances and occasion, which were drawn up by the Archbishop.

After a short repose, during which the choir sung another anthem, the King again approached the communion table, standing with his back towards it, where he was prepared for the anointing by the Duke of Lennox. He then sat down in his chair of state near the pulpit, and the ceremony of anointing him was performed by Archbishop Spottiswoode, during which there was a canopy supported over the King's head. The choir here commenced the anthem—"Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet anointed King Solomon, and all the people rejoiced, and said, God save the King for ever." The Archbishop first anointed the palm of the King's hands in the name of the Holy Trinity, making suitable observations as he proceeded. Another appropriate prayer for the divine blessing on

the King was here introduced, and the Archbishop then proceeded with the rest of the ceremonial. When it was concluded, the Lord Chamberlain adjusted the King's dress, and the Archbishop pronounced a fervent benediction.

The actual part of the coronation now commenced, and was conducted in the most impressive manner by Archbishop Spottiswoode, assisted by Bishop Bellenden of Dunblane, Bishop Alexander Lindsay of Dunkeld, Bishop Lindsay of Brechin, Bishop Guthry of Moray, and Dr Maxwell, Bishop-elect of Ross, in their episcopal robes. After several preliminaries and devotional exercises, the Archbishop crowned the King, the oath of allegiance was administered, and the usual homage was rendered by the Nobility. The Sword and Sceptre were placed in the King's hands, with an appropriate address and invocation, and the Archbishop and the other Bishops were kissed by the King, who then ascended the platform, where he was solemnly enthroned. The Earl of Kinnoull, Lord Chancellor, now proclaimed at each corner of the platform the royal pardon under the Great Seal to all who required it, and the Archbishops and Bishops knelt and did homage, repeating the words after the Earl Marischal, and kissing the King's left cheek. At the conclusion the King entered the Palace bearing the Crown, Sceptre, and Sword, amid the sound of trumpets and the discharge of the Castle artillery.⁴

On the day of the coronation one gentleman was knighted at Holyrood, on the 20th another, on the 22d five in the private gallery of the Palace, and two on the 23d. On the 12th of July four others were knighted at Holyrood. Numbers of the Barons were

created Earls on the occasion. Those so elevated at Holyrood were the Earls of Kinnoull,⁵ Elgin, Southesk, Traquair, Ancrum, Wemyss, and Dalhousie; Lord Gordon of Lochinvar was created Viscount Kenmure, Lord Douglas of Spott was created Viscount Belhaven, and eight gentlemen were created Barons.⁶

On the 18th, 19th, or 20th of June, the Parliament met in the Tolbooth. The ceremonial of the "Riding" from Holyrood was a grand procession, in which the King was prominent, and on the 19th a sermon was preached by Archbishop Spottiswoode. On the 24th, which was St John the Baptist's day, the King attended divine service in the Chapel-Royal preceded by the nobility, six macers, six pursuivants, six heralds, two sergeants-at-arms of England, the Master of Requests, two gentlemen ushers, the Lord Lyon-King-at-Arms, and the Sword of State carried by the Marquis of Hamilton. On this occasion the practice of touching, to cure the disease known as the King's evil, was performed on about one hundred persons. Charles I. again attended divine service in the Chapel-Royal on the 25th, when Dr William Forbes preached. The Liturgy of the Church of England was read, and Bishop Bellenden of Dunblane appeared in his episcopal robes, the other Bishops present wearing gowns. On the 28th all the Acts of the Parliament, many of them most important, were ratified; and on Sunday the 30th Archbishop Laud preached before the King in the Chapel-Royal, which "scarce any Englishman," says Clarendon, "had done before him."⁷ On the 1st of July the King proceeded from Holyrood on a progress to Linlithgow, Stirling, Dunfermline, Falkland, and


Perth, returning to the Palace on the 10th, and narrowly escaping death by a fearful storm in the passage across the Frith of Forth from Bruntisland to Leith, when a boat with some of his plate and money, and eight of his servants, was lost. On the 18th of July the King left Holyrood for Dalkeith, proceeding to England by Seton, Innerwick, and Berwick.





CHAPTER XV.

HOLYROOD DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

FTER the visit of Charles I. to Scotland, those ecclesiastical measures were concerted which in 1638 excited the great rebellion throughout the Lowland counties of Scotland caused by the introduction of the Book of Canons and the Scottish Liturgy. The mode of conducting divine service in the Chapel-Royal, which belonged to the Crown as an appendage of the Palace, and the conduct of Bishop Bellenden the Dean, were the subjects of special correspondence. On the 8th of October 1633 the King wrote to Bishop Bellenden, enjoining that the Dean of the Chapel should at all future coronations be assistant to the Archbishop of St Andrews—that the book of the form of the coronation lately used was to be carefully preserved in a box and kept in possession of the Dean—that divine service was to be performed twice daily according to the form of the English Liturgy, till “some course be taken for making one that may fit the custom and constitution of that Church” of Scotland—that the communion was to be received kneeling, and administered on the first Sunday of every month—that the Dean preach in his “whites” on Sundays and the Festivals, and be as seldom absent as possible; and that

the Privy Council, Officers of State, Judges, and members of the College of Justice, communicate in the Chapel-Royal once every year, or be reported to the King by the Dean in case of refusal. This was followed by a letter to the Lords of Session, dated at Greenwich, 13th May 1634. Bishop Bellenden, however, was refractory, or perceived that it was impossible to fulfil the King's orders, and was soon out of favour with the Court. The correspondence with him on the subject was chiefly carried on by Archbishop Laud, and became at last conciliatory in reference to those whom the English Primate describes as having "obeyed or disobeyed his Majesty's commands in receiving the communion in the Chapel-Royal."

On the 12th of January 1635 Archbishop Laud again wrote to Bishop Bellenden about the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood. He mentions Edward Kellie, who in November 1629 had been appointed keeper of the fees of the Chapel-Royal by writ under the Privy Seal. The English Primate states, that the next time he saw the Earl of Traquair he would converse with him about the "gentlemen of the Chapel," and "one Edward Kellie." In a postscript the Archbishop says that he had seen the Earl, who assured him that Kellie had been paid. In 1635 Bishop Bellenden was translated to Aberdeén, and was succeeded by Dr James Wedderburn, Prebendary of Wells. When the Scottish Liturgy was announced in 1636, the Chapel-Royal was among the first of the churches supplied with it, for which Robert Bryson, bookseller, and Evan Tyler, printer, granted a discharged receipt on the 15th of April for the sum of L.144 Scots, or L.12 sterling.

In May 1638, James third Marquis of Hamilton, created in 1643 Duke of Hamilton, whose fate was as disastrous as that of his sovereign, was appointed Lord High Commissioner to Scotland by Charles I., to allay the religious and political distractions excited by the attempt to introduce the Scottish Liturgy, and by the fanaticism of the Solemn League and Covenant. The nomination of the Marquis was by no means popular among the Covenanters, though some have doubted his sincerity, and accused him of secretly favouring the movement. His mother, Lady Anne Cunningham, daughter of James seventh Earl of Glencairn, was a most zealous adherent of the insurgents; and in 1639, when he arrived in the Frith of Forth with a force to overawe them, she appeared on horseback at the head of a body of mounted troopers on the shore, drew a pistol from her saddle-bow, and declared that she would be the first to shoot her son if he landed and attacked his countrymen. But it was recollected that he was a courtier—the relative of the King, and that his father had actively promoted the ratification of the Five Articles of Perth. The Marquis reached Berwick on the 3d of June, and he soon arrived in Dalkeith Castle, whither he summoned the Privy Council. A deputation from the Corporation of Edinburgh had an audience, and entreated him to reside in Holyroodhouse, which would be more convenient for the public. The Marquis at first refused to enter Edinburgh, because the city was in the hands of open resisters of the King's authority; but he at length consented, on the condition that the peaceable conduct of the multitudes

then in the capital was guaranteed, and that the guards at the gates and the Castle would be withdrawn. To this they agreed, and Friday the 9th of June was appointed for his arrival in Holyrood, when the Covenanters resolved to display their numerical force. For some reasons of his own, instead of proceeding direct from Dalkeith to Edinburgh, the Marquis diverged by Inveresk to Musselburgh, four miles from the former town, and six miles from Edinburgh. From Musselburgh he and his cortege rode along the shore, passing over the ground on which the town of Portobello is now built, and the then furzy tract called the Figgate Whins, to the common of Leith Links. When approaching the Links he was met by thirty of the Covenanting nobility, and the gentry marshalled themselves in a line along the seaside, extending to nearly two miles. Passing through this array, and attended by upwards of 20,000 men and women, he perceived on an eminence, near the east end of the Links, several hundreds of their preachers dressed in their black Geneva cloaks. It was intended to edify him with a speech by Mr William Livingstone, then a preacher at Lanark, and brother of the noted Mr John Livingstone; but the Marquis was saved this infliction by the device of Dr Walter Balcanqual, Dean of Rochester, who attended him as chaplain, and who whispered to him that Livingstone, whom he described as "one of the most seditious of the whole pack," would deliver a most offensive invective. The Marquis merely bowed to the Covenanter, observing that "harangues on the field were for princes, and above his place," and what he had to say he should hear gladly in private. The crowd on the Links and the road to Edinburgh

was now immense, and followed the Marquis to the Watergate of the Canongate, close to Holyroodhouse, where he was received by the Magistrates of the city. Under such circumstances, and greatly affected, he entered the Palace.

The Marquis had resolved to attend divine service in the Chapel-Royal, where Dr Balcanqual was to officiate, who was particularly obnoxious to the Covenanters; and to prevent this, or to shew their hatred, some of them secretly entered the edifice, nailed the organ, and announced to the Marquis, that if the "English Service Book" was again used, the person who did so would run the hazard of his life. The residence of the Marquis at Holyrood failed to influence the Covenanters, and the Civil War ensued which was preluded by the Glasgow General Assembly.

The next occupant of Holyrood during this unhappy contest was the King himself, who arrived in Edinburgh accompanied by his nephew the Elector Palatine,¹ on Saturday the 14th of August 1641. His reception was different from that of 1633, and the chief mark of respect was a banquet given to him by the Magistrates, which cost upwards of L.12,000 Scots, on the 30th of August in the hall of the present Parliament House. The prerogatives of the Crown were now usurped by the Estates, and Charles I. was compelled to enter the Palace under the banner of the solemn League and Covenant. No public procession greeted his arrival, no demonstrations of joy were evinced, and at six in the evening he approached Holyrood rather as a private individual than as the sovereign. The King gave audience in the then gallery to numbers of the nobility

and gentry, who kissed the hand of him whose royal functions they had rendered merely nominal. On the following day the King submitted to the infliction of hearing a sermon by Alexander Henderson in the Chapel-Royal, and was obliged to submit to the forms and peculiarities of his Covenanting masters, who soon denounced as incendiaries, and consigned to destruction, those loyal noblemen and gentlemen who were his avowed or alleged supporters. On Monday it was debated before the King at a meeting of the Privy Council, whether or not the Parliament ought to "ride" anew; and it was arranged that the King, after a sermon in the Chapel-Royal, should proceed to the Parliament in his coach, alight at the Lady's Steps on the north-east corner of St Giles's church, where he was to be met by the Regalia, the Marquis of Hamilton carrying the Crown, the Earl of Argyll the Sceptre, and the Earl of Sutherland the Sword, and thence walk to the Parliament House, which had been erected in 1636 by the citizens. The King addressed the Parliament in a conciliatory speech, and returned to the Palace. On Sunday the 29th, Mr Andrew Cant from Aberdeen preached before the King in the Chapel-Royal in the afternoon, and on the following Sunday afternoon Mr Andrew Fairfoull from North Leith.² Charles resorted to the Parliament every day, and sacrificed all his regal authority by a timid policy, retaining only the name of King, and the kingdom may be said to have become a republic. Honours and emoluments were bestowed on those whose fidelity was suspected, or whose enmity was avowed;³ and among them Alexander Henderson was rewarded with the revenues of the Chapel-Royal.

As the proceedings appeared interminable, and the affairs of Ireland were alarming, the King, on Monday the 15th, announced that the first thing he would do was to sign the warrant for the "Riding of the Parliament." The concluding pageant of the "Riding of the Parliament" was held from Holyrood to the Parliament House, on Wednesday the 17th November, the Crown carried by the Earl of Argyll, who was that day created a Marquis, the Sceptre by the Earl of Sutherland, and the Sword by the Earl of Mar. A sermon by Alexander Henderson closed the proceedings at half-past eight in the evening, though the Parliament virtually continued its sittings till June 1644, and the lateness of the hour prevented the riding back in state to the Palace. The King gave a supper to the nobility in the great hall of the Palace, when he solemnly took leave of them, and left Edinburgh on the following day for England, where he was soon involved in the Civil War.⁴

Scotland was now under the rule of a Parliamentary Committee of the Estates, controlled, guided, and depressed by the will or caprice of the Covenanters; and the war which ensued left Holyrood unnoticed and deserted either by royalty or by the dominant party. After the murder of Charles I., the Covenanters induced Charles II. to appear in Scotland, proclaimed him King, and brought him to Edinburgh; but the English army under Cromwell prevented him from residing in Holyrood. After the battle of Dunbar, on the 3d of September 1650, Cromwell quartered a part of his forces in the Palace. While thus occupied, the edifice was, on the 13th of November that year, either by


accident or design, destroyed by fire.⁵ On the 7th of February 1652, the royal arms were removed from Holyrood and other public buildings in Edinburgh, and destroyed by order of the Commissioners of the English Parliament, then sitting at Dalkeith.⁶ Cromwell, however, ordered the Palace to be restored in 1658, and it was completed in November 1659, with the addition of a building within the court, which was afterwards removed.





CHAPTER XVI.

REBUILDING OF THE PALACE.

N the 31st of December 1660, John Earl of Middleton, the Lord High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament, entered Holyrood in state, and the Palace was his residence during the meeting of the Estates which assembled on the 1st of January 1661. A few days afterwards the mangled remains of the great Marquis of Montrose were disinterred from the Boroughmuir, his head removed from the Tolbooth, his limbs brought from the towns to which they had been sent, and the whole were deposited in a sumptuous coffin, which lay in state in Holyrood, preparatory to the splendid funeral in St Giles's church. On the 23d of April 1661, the coronation of Charles II. in London was celebrated by a banquet given by the Earl of Middleton in the Palace.

On Wednesday the 7th of May 1662, George Halyburton, Bishop of Dunkeld, David Strachan, Bishop of Brechin, John Paterson, of Ross, Murdoch Mackenzie, of Moray, Patrick Forbes, of Caithness, Robert Wallace, of the Isles, and David Fletcher, of Argyll, were consecrated in the Chapel-Royal by Archbishops Sharp of St Andrews and Fairfoull of Glasgow, and Bishop Hamilton of Galloway. A great number of the nobility,

gentry, and others, were then in Edinburgh to attend the approaching meeting of the Parliament, and the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town-Council attended in their robes. The two Archbishops and the Bishop of Galloway entered the church from the Palace, wearing, says the local diarist, their "white surplices under their black gowns, except their sleeves, which were all of them white, or delicate cambric and lawn." The sermon was preached by Mr James Gordon of Drumblade in Aberdeenshire. The Archbishop of St Andrews sat "covered with his episcopal cap, or four-nooked bonnet; all that was said by the Bishop was read off a book, and their prayers likewise were read."¹

Another grand riding of the Parliament from Holyrood occurred on the 9th of October, when the Earl of Rothes, afterwards created a Duke, was Lord High Commissioner. A fortnight previous Sir Charles Erskine of Cambo had been inaugurated Lord Lyon-King-at-Arms by the Earl of Rothes, in the Palace. The Duke of Rothes died at Holyrood on the 27th of July 1681, and his body was conveyed to St Giles's church on the 23d of August, from which it was brought in state to the Chapel-Royal, preceded by a magnificent procession, and attended by numbers of the nobility and gentry. On the following day the body was conveyed to Leith and shipped for Burntisland, to be interred in the family vault at Leslie.

After the Restoration it was determined to erect a new Palace, and Sir William Bruce of Kinross, an architect of considerable celebrity in his day, designed the present quadrangular edifice, which he connected





Designed by J. Smith

Engraved by J. Tennant

QUADRANGLE OF HOLYROODHOUSE PALACE.

DESIGNED BY J. SMITH FOR H. GUTHRIE 1847

with the original north-west towers, now forming the quadrangle. In 1676, Charles II., who though resident in London took great interest in the progress of the edifice, and issued minute directions respecting each floor, staircase, apartment, and chimney, granted his royal warrant for payment of L.4734 as the estimated expense for completing the Palace and gardens, and introducing water into the edifice. The Church was also repaired, and on the 3d of September 1672 it was ordered to be designated the Chapel-Royal, and to be no longer the parish church of the Canongate. The erection of the edifice was superintended by Robert Milne, master-mason, a memorial of a relative of whom is on an isolated tombstone in the enclosed grounds behind the Palace.²

In 1679 the Duke of York, afterwards James II., visited Edinburgh, occupied the Palace, and was magnificently entertained by the Magistrates. While at Holyrood the Duke became unpopular by his encouragement of the drama and other amusements to which the citizens were generally opposed. The Duke of York again arrived at the Palace in 1680 as a kind of exile from the English court on account of his religious principles, accompanied by his Duchess, and his daughter the Princess Anne, afterwards Queen Anne.³ The *Duke's Walk*, the general designation of one of the royal parks at the base of Arthur's Seat east of the Palace, was so called because it was the ordinary promenade of the Duke of York and his family. The former footpath is now superseded by the most romantic road leading round Arthur's Seat and the base of Salisbury Crags, begun in 1844. In 1843, the office of Hereditary

Ranger of the royal parks of Holyrood was purchased by Act of Parliament for L.30,674 from the Earl of Haddington, whose ancestor, Sir James Hamilton, had obtained the office by charter from Charles I. on the 10th of August 1646, as a recompence for a large sum which he lent the King in his necessities during the Civil War.⁴

The large room designated the Picture Gallery, designed as a Council Chamber, in which the election of the sixteen Representative Peers of Scotland is held, was fitted up by the Duke of York as his private chapel in conformity to the ritual of the Roman Catholic Church—a purpose for which it was appropriated upwards of a century afterwards, during the first residence at Holyrood of Charles X. when Count D'Artois. On the 27th of July 1681 the Duke of York inaugurated Sir Alexander Erskine of Cambo, Bart., as Lord Lyon, in the Palace, and on this occasion the usual sermon preached by the Dean in the Chapel-Royal before the King or his Commissioner and the nobility was omitted. On the 25th of September 1686 the Duke of York, then James II., issued his warrant to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury to continue this room as a private chapel; and on the 19th of May 1687 he signed another warrant authorizing the payment of L.100 sterling annually to the persons employed for the service of the music. At that period Holyrood could also boast of its printing-press. At length James II. directed that the Chapel-Royal should be fitted up exclusively for the Roman Catholic ritual, and as the place for the installation of the Knights of the Thistle. This was on the 3d of December 1687, and the order

to the Earl of Perth, Lord Chancellor, and the Lords Commissioners of the Scottish Treasury, was signed by Alexander fourth Earl of Moray, who had been Lord High Commissioner to the Parliament in 1686, and invested with the Order of the Thistle in 1687. James II. announced in his letter, that as he could procure the materials for the alterations and repairs cheaper in London than in Scotland, he had ordered the Earl of Melfort, one of his principal Secretaries of State, to engage Mr James Fowlis, merchant in London, to "become bound to the carvers, joyners, and other workmen here to be employed in and about the said work and reparation," and enjoined the Lords Commissioners to pay the said Mr James Fowlis three several bills of exchange, one for L.922 : 6s. due on the 20th of January, a second for L.470 : 8s. due on the 20th of February, and a third for L.410 due on the 1st of May 1688, sterling money. The parishioners of the Canongate were thus excluded from the Abbey church, and were enjoined to resort to Lady Yester's church till the present parish church of the Canongate was erected, which was done from the bequest in 1649 of Thomas Moodie, merchant, of 20,000 merks for building a church in or near the Grassmarket. This sum had been allowed to accumulate, and in 1681 the Parliament placed it at the disposal of Charles II. The whole was ordered by James II. to be appropriated according to Moodie's intentions, and hence the origin of the present parish church of the Canongate, which was erected after the Revolution. It appears that when the parishioners were expelled from the Abbey church, a French minister and his congregation had

some connection with it, for it was found necessary to accommodate them in the High School.


James II. intimated that he expected the Chapel-Royal to be repaired and altered to his directions before the 1st of May 1688, when it was to be opened for the Roman Catholic service, under pain of his severe displeasure. Father Hay states that the King intended to bestow the Abbey Church upon the Canons of St Genevieve, of whom he was one; and in furtherance of this he began a negotiation with the Earl of Perth on the 29th of May 1687, which continued with some intermissions till the 16th of June. On Tuesday the 11th of July the keys of the church were delivered to the Earl of Perth as Lord Chancellor, who sent them next morning to the Lord Provost, with an intimation that fourteen days would be allowed for the purpose of removing the seats and other furniture. On the Sunday following the Episcopal incumbent was transferred with his congregation to Lady Yester's. Father Hay records a duty he performed in the Chapel-Royal on the evening of the 22d of January 1688. This was the interment of Agnes Irvine, wife of Captain Charteris, in presence of the Duke of Gordon, the Earl of Perth, and a number of persons of all ranks. "I was in my habit, with surplice and aulmus," says the worthy Father; "the ceremony was performed after the rites of Rome. She was the first person since the pretended Reformation that was interred publicly after that manner."





CHAPTER XVII.

HOLYROOD AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

HE King's private chapel was still maintained in the Palace, and it appears from Father Hay's statement that some Jesuits occupied part of the Lord Chancellor's apartments on the north side of the Abbey porch as a College. The Chapel-Royal was almost completed for the reception of the Knights of the Thistle, when the Revolution expelled James II. from the throne. Much excitement had prevailed in Edinburgh, occasioned by the King's proceedings to overthrow the Protestant religion. The attendance of the Officers of State at mass caused a tumult, and the Countess of Perth and other persons of distinction had been publicly insulted while returning from the Chapel. When the landing of the Prince of Orange was announced in Edinburgh, the Earl of Perth retired from the city, and the first strong intimation of the public feeling at the change of the government was the assembling of a numerous mob on the 10th of December for the purpose of burning the Chapel-Royal.¹ The rioters were opposed within the precincts of the Palace by an officer named Wallace and about sixty men, who fired on the assailants, some of whom were killed and

wounded. Though repulsed, they soon appeared with the Magistrates and their officials, who exhibited a warrant from the Privy Council, and Wallace was ordered to surrender. A second skirmish ensued, in which the rioters were successful, and their fury resistless; the Chapel-Royal and the private Chapel in the Palace plundered and devastated. Nothing was left of the former but the bare walls, the royal sepulchre was shamefully violated, and the assailants broke open the lead coffins, carrying off the lids, in which were the bodies of James V., his first queen Magdalene of France, Lord Darnley, and others of the royal family of Scotland. Some minor excesses followed; the Earl of Perth's wine-cellars at the Abbeyhill were forced, and the liquors found therein swallowed with avidity; and the houses of all known supporters of King James were plundered or menaced.²

The solitude of Holyrood was enlivened by the ceremonial of the Riding of the Parliament from the Palace to the Parliament House on the 6th of May 1703. In this procession were sixty-three commissioners of burghs, seventy-seven commissioners of counties, fifty-one Lords, nineteen Viscounts, and sixty Earls, all on horseback, with their attendants on foot. Four pursuivants and six heralds preceded the Lord Lyon, who was followed by the Earl of Mar carrying the Sword of State, the Earl of Crawford the Sceptre, the Earl of Forfar the Crown in absence of the Marquis of Douglas, and the Earl of Morton the purse and commission. The Duke of Queensberry was the Lord High Commissioner, followed by four Dukes, six Marquises, and the Duke of Argyll at the head of the Horse Guards. When the

Parliament rose, the procession returned in nearly the same order down the High Street and the Canongate to Holyroodhouse, and the members were there entertained at supper by the Lord High Commissioner.³

After the Union the Palace was deserted, and the Chapel-Royal was allowed to continue a ruin till 1758, when it was repaired at the expense of the Exchequer. The edifice was most absurdly and injudiciously allowed to be roofed with stone, the weight of which was too heavy to be supported by the old dilapidated walls, and on the 2d of December 1768, about mid-day, a part of the roof and walls fell into the church, which received an accession on the following night. The much-admired Gothic pillars and ornaments on the north side of the interior were destroyed, and the sepulchral vaults and monuments were greatly injured by the rubbish. It was stated at the time—"The Church, however, is, it is said, to be speedily rebuilt"⁴—a conjecture without the least authority, and the Chapel-Royal remains to this day one of the most interesting ruins in Scotland, a monument of the downfall of the Stuart dynasty, and the only representative of the piety of King David I. Various proposals have from time to time been made to restore the edifice, which the condition of the walls on the north aisle renders utterly impossible without rebuilding from the foundation. The west or grand entrance is a most magnificent specimen of architecture, and the massive pillars on the south aisle sufficiently intimate the former grandeur of the edifice. The fallen ruins were removed from the interior in 1776. At that time the bodies of James V. and some others were ascertained to be in their coffins in the royal vault, and

the head of Queen Magdalene is described by an eye-witness⁵ as "entire, and even beautiful." Within three years afterwards, however, according to the same authority, the coffins, the head of Queen Magdalene, and the skull of Darnley, were stolen, and the thigh-bones of the latter only remained, showing the tallness of his stature. The royal vault, which is on the south side of the church, and is a most repulsive looking cell half under ground, now contains merely a pile of human bones, which are seen from the iron-grated doorway; but whether these are the remains of princes, or of persons long forgotten, it is impossible to conjecture. The tombstones of prelates, nobles, knights, and of burgesses of the Canongate, form the floor of the roofless edifice, and some with inscriptions are conspicuous on its walls. Among these are the monuments of Adam Bothwell, ex-Bishop of Orkney, Dr George Wishart,⁶ one of the Bishops of Edinburgh after the Restoration, Lady Jane Douglas, sister of Archibald first and only Duke of Douglas—a lady whose history is most unhappy, and is remarkable as connected with the celebrated plea known as the "Douglas Cause"⁷—the Earl and Countess of Sutherland, and many others,⁸ who repose amid the ignoble dust of the burgesses of the Canongate.⁹ The only monument deserving of notice as a work of art is that in the interior of the north-west tower, which was erected to the memory of Robert Douglas, Viscount Belhaven,¹⁰ who died at Edinburgh on 12th January 1639. A full-length statue of the deceased is stretched in a recumbent position on a pedestal five feet high, the right arm resting on a cushion, the head raised, and the left arm supporting a sword; the drapery consists

of the robes of a peer, and two fluted columns with fancy capitals support an open pediment, above which are placed the arms of Viscount Belhaven. In the space between the columns behind the statue are two tablets, divided by a pilaster, containing long Latin inscriptions.

From the Union till 1745, Holyrood was totally neglected, and abandoned to a solitude only varied by the occasional elections of the Representative Peers for Scotland. On the 17th of September 1745 Prince Charles Edward Stuart made the Palace his residence, and gratified his adherents in the city by a series of levees, entertainments, and dancing assemblies in the Picture Gallery. His army lay encamped on the south-east side of Arthur's Seat, near the village of Wester Duddingstone, in a house of which he slept the night before the battle of Prestonpans.¹¹ The Prince returned to Holyrood on the 22d, the day after the battle, and remained there till the 31st of October, when he commenced his luckless march to England. The Duke of Cumberland resided a short time in the Palace after his return from the battle of Culloden in the spring of 1746, and he is said to have slept in the same bed which the Prince occupied. In 1795 the apartments on the east side of the quadrangle were prepared for the reception of Charles X., then the exiled Count D'Artois, and his suite, and he continued at Holyrood till 1799, holding levees, which were attended by the higher classes of the citizens.¹² In 1822 occurred the visit of George IV. to Edinburgh, when the state rooms on the south side of the quadrangle were prepared for the levees which

the King held in the Palace. Holyrood became a second time in 1831 the asylum of Charles X., who was accompanied by his family, consisting of the Duke and Duchess D'Angouleme, the Duchess de Berri, her son the Duke of Bordeaux, and a numerous suite. The royal exiles finally left the Palace in 1835. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, in their progress through the city on Saturday the 3d of September 1842, passed the south side of the Palace with their cortege, and entered the Canongate.

After the visit of George IV. the sum of L.24,000, voted by Parliament, was expended in the external and internal repairs of Holyrood. The interior of the Palace contains several splendid rooms, especially those known as the Royal Apartments, which are now annually occupied by the Nobleman who is appointed to represent the Sovereign as Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Establishment.¹³ Those apartments are adorned with tapestries representing mythological scenes from the Classic writers, painted wainscotings, and profusely carved roofs and ceilings. In the Throne Room is a fine full-length portrait of George IV. in Highland costume by Sir David Wilkie, and in this part of the edifice are also full lengths of King William and Queen Anne, George I., and John Duke of Argyll. The Duke of Hamilton, as Hereditary Keeper, and the Duke of Argyll, as Heritable Master of the Household, possess apartments in the Palace, in which are several full-length portraits and fine pictures, and other persons reside by permission. The Picture Gallery, which is the first floor of the north side of the quadrangle, is a long low-roofed room, 145 feet

in length, 26 feet broad, and only $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. On the walls are painted by De Wit, a Flemish artist, full and half-length portraits and heads of one hundred and eleven Scottish Sovereigns, the existence of the greater number of whom, from the reputed reign of Fergus I., is as imaginary as their likenesses. They are all represented with prodigious long noses. Some of Hawley's dragons, after their defeat at Falkirk, wantonly cut and slashed many of those portraits. They were renovated by Mr John Medina, who died at Edinburgh in 1796.¹⁴ He was the grandson of Sir John Medina, the eminent historical and portrait painter.


In the north-west towers are Queen Mary's Apartments and those of the Duke of Hamilton, the former containing furniture of no remoter date than the time of Charles I.¹⁵ In the west front of the tower is the Queen's bedchamber, the walls displaying tapestry, and a very decayed four-posted bed is shown as that on which Mary reposed. The Queen's alleged dressing-room in the south-west turret is entered from this room, and also the closet in the north-west turret from which Riccio was dragged from the presence of Mary to be inhumanly murdered. In the Queen's Presence-Chamber, as it is called, are shown several articles, some of them housewifery, said to have belonged to Mary and Lord Darnley, particularly the pretended boots, lance, and iron breastplate of the latter. This apartment also contains a profusion of pictures and prints, chiefly of the seventeenth century.¹⁶





CHAPTER XVIII.

ENVIRONS OF HOLYROOD—THE ROYAL PARKS.

N the north-west of the Palace is a large garden, at one time the botanical garden, in which is an alleged Queen Mary's sun-dial, curiously carved, and probably at least as old as her reign. A small octagonal building of considerable antiquity, and still inhabited, connected with the wall on the west side of the garden, enclosing it from the street called the Abbeyhill, is designated Queen Mary's Bath.¹ On the west side of the lane known as Croft-an-Righ, locally Croftangry, behind the enclosed grounds of the Palace, leading from the park to the Abbeyhill, is an old edifice which was occupied as a residence by the Regent Moray. It is traditionally said that he obtained this house as a present from Queen Mary, and in the garden behind is a tree alleged to have been planted by her hand.

The royal parks, known as St Anne's Yards and the Duke's Walk, extend east from the Palace nearly a mile to the villa of Parson's Green, and the meadows and parks are upwards of two miles in length south-west from the Palace at the base of Salisbury Crags and Arthur's Seat by St Leonard's Hill, the basaltic columns of Arthur's Seat, popularly known as Samson's

Ribs, to the lake and village of Duddingstone. Salisbury Crags, 574 feet above the level of the sea at the cavity called the Cat-Nick, present an immense semicircle of almost perpendicular precipices, from the foot-road under which the hill slopes steeply to the valley between its base and St Leonard's Hill on the west, the old road of the Dumbiedykes immortalized by Sir Walter Scott, and often traversed by Queen Mary when she came to and from Craigmillar Castle, and the South Back of the Canongate. Between Salisbury Crags and Arthur's Seat, formed by the sloping of the former and the abrupt rising of the latter, is the deep secluded valley of the Hunter's Bog, about a mile and a half in circumference, and displaying all the wild scenery of a remote mountain glen, the south entrance down a steep declivity, and the north, at which is a rocky eminence called Haggie's Knowe, on the confines of the Duke's Walk, disclosing a fine view of Lochend, Restalrig, the seaport of Leith, the Frith of Forth, with the county of Fife in the background. Arthur's Seat, some views of which strongly resemble a lion couchant, consists of a series of hills, the summit of the highest 822 feet above the level of the sea. On the north-west of this splendid hill are the ruins of St Anthony's Chapel, on elevated basalt overlooking the Duke's Walk, and protected from the east winds by a high perpendicular rock. When entire, the building was forty-three feet long, eighteen feet broad, and eighteen feet high, having at its west end a tower nineteen feet square, and supposed to have been about forty feet high. A fragment of this tower is the only remaining part of the chapel. The doors, windows, and roof were Gothic, though of

no architectural pretensions. A few yards west of this ruin are the remains of the cell of the Hermitage, which was sixteen feet long, twelve broad, and eight high. Of the foundation and history of St Anthony's Chapel and Hermitage nothing is known beyond mere conjecture. Below the cell is St Anthony's Well, a spring of pure and delicious water issuing from the rock, into a hollowed stone basin, which in former times supplied the recluse above.² Below the summit of Arthur's Seat, on the south side, the Seaforth regiment of Highlanders intrenched themselves when they mutinied in September 1776, kept possession of their position several days, and were supplied with provisions by persons from the city. Farther down, behind a sloping eminence perpendicular on the north side, is Dunsapie Rock, at the base of which is the small restored Dunsapie Loch. A steep rock overhanging a part of Duddingstone Loch is known as the Hangman's Knowe, from the circumstance of a functionary of that description in Edinburgh having thrown himself from it, and drowned himself in the lake some years before the Revolution.

Salisbury Crags, Arthur's Seat, and the royal parks, are all within the Sanctuary of Holyrood, and include a circumference of four and a half miles.³ Persons who retire to the Sanctuary are safe from their creditors for twenty-four hours, after which time a "Protection," issued by the Bailie of the Abbey at a specified charge, must be taken. The debtors, or "Abbey Lairds," as they are ironically designated,⁴ are at liberty to go beyond the boundaries of the Sanctuary on Sundays. Legal alterations, however, have rendered this compulsory "lairdship" to a certain extent unnecessary.⁵

The carriage drive round Arthur's Seat and through the parks was commenced in 1844, when the latter were thoroughly drained, and great improvements were effected. The road, which winds round Arthur's Seat, rendering the ascent of the hill comparatively easy, discloses magnificent views in all directions, from the German Ocean to the Queensferry, having the Ochill mountains in the background, the entire south coast of Fife with its numerous seaport towns, the coast of Haddingtonshire from North Berwick Law round the Bay of Musselburgh, and the wide landscape bounded on the south and west by the Moorfoot Hills and the Pentlands. In 1842 his Royal Highness Prince Albert, accompanied by the Earl of Aberdeen and Sir Robert Peel, Bart., ascended to the summit of Arthur's Seat, and enjoyed the panoramic view not excelled in Great Britain, embracing a district of country full of the most interesting historical associations.

Near the east end of the Duke's Walk is a spot on which was a pile of stones called Muschet's Cairn, the original of which was removed during the formation of a footpath through the park, suggested by Lord Adam Gordon, commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland from 1789 to 1798, who resided in Holyroodhouse, and made sundry improvements in the edifice. The tragical story of Nicol Muschet of Boghall and his wife is prominently noticed by Sir Walter Scott in the "Heart of Mid-Lothian." The wretched man was inveigled to marry Margaret Hall, a woman of indifferent character, by James Campbell of Bankfoot, ordnance storekeeper in Edinburgh Castle, a man known to all the reprobates of the city by the appellation of *Bankie*, who was tried,


on the 29th of March 1721, before the High Court of Justiciary, and sentenced to perpetual banishment for his concern in the matters connected with the murder. Muschet in his two confessions, one of which is printed,⁶ narrates, that on the night of the 17th of October 1720 he brought his wife from the house of an acquaintance in the Canongate, and walked into the parks behind the Palace, pretending he was on his way to Duddingstone, and if she refused to accompany him he would never see her again. The unfortunate woman, after in vain entreating him to return to the city, followed him weeping into the Duke's Walk. When they were near the east end of the promenade, Muschet pretended to salute his wife, and, throwing her down, proceeded to cut her throat. He wounded her hands and chin, which she held close to intercept the knife, and he declared that her long hair, by which he pinned her to the ground, enabled him to perpetrate the crime. Muschet went back to the city, leaving his wife on the spot, and her mangled body was found on the following morning. The murderer was soon apprehended, and his trial was adjourned from the 28th of November till the 5th of December, when he was found guilty in terms of his own confession, and sentenced to be executed in the Grassmarket on the 6th of February 1721, which was duly and deservedly inflicted.⁷





CHAPTER XIX.

THE ORDER OF THE THISTLE.

 HIS Order of Knighthood, which is the only one belonging to Scotland, and for a short time connected with the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood-house, is of very uncertain origin. It is said to have been instituted by Achaius, the sixty-fifth King of Scotland, in A.D. 819, to commemorate a remarkable incident which occurred in his reign. It is related by the celebrated John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, and others, and it is recapitulated as a fact in the letters-patent of King James in 1687, that on the night before the soldiers of Achaius engaged Athelstane the "Angle," as he is called, in battle near Haddington, a bright cross appeared in the heavens like that on which St Andrew is traditionally said to have suffered martyrdom, and the Apostle promised to the Scottish army a glorious victory. The result was exactly what had been so miraculously announced, and Athelstane was killed at the place to which he has given his name, since called Athelstaneford—a designation which is now extended to a village and parish in the county of Haddington.¹ It is not agreed whether the valiant Achaius was present when this wonderful cross appeared, or whether the vision was seen by Hungus, King of

the Picts, who had obtained from the Scottish King the assistance of 10,000 men; but as both traditions are entitled to the same degree of credit, it is a matter of very little consequence which of them is preferred, or whether they are believed at all. Achaius is farther stated to have repaired to St Andrews, in Fife, after the victory of Athelstaneford, and in the church dedicated to the Apostle there, to have piously and faithfully promised that he and his posterity would ever retain the figure of that cross on their ensigns and banners.

Another tradition is also preserved respecting the origin of the Order of the Thistle, equally authentic as the preceding, which deserves to be noticed. It is stated by Favine, in his Theatre of Honour, that this Order was instituted when the famous league was formed between Achaius and the celebrated Charlemagne of France, to preserve the memory of which, the Scottish King added the tressure of the fleur-de-lis to the lion—the ancient royal standard of Scotland, and that he took for device the thistle and the rue, which he composed into a collar of his Order, and for his motto, *Pour ma defense*. Another writer makes these the symbols of two different Orders—one of the *Thistle*, whence the Knights were so styled, and the motto, *Nemo me impune lacessit*; and the other called *Sertum Rutæ*, or *Garland of Rue*. To both collars were attached one and the same jewel—the figure of St Andrew bearing his cross suspended from a green ribbon.

It ought to be observed, that it is very doubtful whether any such alliance was ever formed between Achaius and Charlemagne. It is ridiculed and denied

by Lord Hailes and the author of Caledonia. "This fable," says the latter, "was related and received in the last century as a fact; in our times it has been discussed and derided as a fiction, though the fact may have applied to the reguli of a neighbouring region. Fable also attributes to this alliance the origin of the well-known *double tressure* which ornaments the Scottish arms. To Achaius, moreover, is attributed by heraldic fallacy the institution of the *Most Ancient Order of the Thistle*. The obscurity of the age of Achaius, and the deficiency both of records and annals, left a commodious field for fiction to occupy while in quest of adventures, which might be embellished with any attributes." This learned writer adds, in a note—"The Order of the Thistle was probably established by James V. in 1534, obscured by the Reformers, and re-established by James VII. in 1687." He also conjectures that the "double tressure of the Scottish armouries is probably of modern origin," and yet he confesses that in the title-page of Bellenden's Boece, 1541, which consists of the armorial bearings of Scotland, these are "most heraldically displayed," and "wherein may be seen the double tressure, with the fleurs-de-lis, the collar of the Order of the Thistle, with St Andrew on his cross appendant." To this may be added the Royal Arms of Scotland in 1542, as exhibited in Sir David Lindsay's Heraldry, the original of which, by that distinguished individual, is still extant in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, and is one of the earliest heraldic collections in Scotland. It is a work of unquestioned authenticity and of very considerable importance, the blazonry presenting no unfavourable specimen of the state of

the arts in Scotland at the period of its execution. Without stopping to examine the somewhat contradictory statements of Chalmers, it cannot be disputed, whatever may have been the origin of the Order, which it is perhaps impossible to distinguish from the traditions connected with it, that it is well entitled to the designation of the *Most Ancient Order of the Thistle*; and contemporary writers, who lived in the reigns of its restorer James V., and his daughter Queen Mary, and grandson James VI., mention it as in their time of high antiquity.

James V., however, must be considered historically the second founder of this Order of Knighthood, one of the few remaining memorials of the independence of Scotland, although one historian (Pinkerton) contends that it was instituted about the year 1501 by James IV., a prince who at all times was devotedly attached to chivalry. James V. is represented as having been dignified and magnanimous; and as all our early historians agree in setting forth the excellencies of that monarch, we may take their united testimony as a proof that their commendations are real and deserved. This prince, whose bones lie mouldering in the royal vault of the Chapel-Royal, received from his affectionate subjects the glorious appellation of the *King of the Poor*, because, to quote the language of Pinkerton, "to the voice of poverty, to the prayer of distress, the gates of his palace stood ever open; with one hand he raised the indigent, while with the other he crushed the proud oppressor. Of indubitable valour, and of remarkable strength of constitution, he exposed his life and health without hesitation at any season

when it became necessary to curb the marauding Borderers or Highlanders, rendered lawless during the disorders of a long minority. The dangers of the wilderness, the gloom of night, the tempests of winter, could not prevent his patient exertions to protect the helpless, to punish the guilty, to enforce the observance of the laws. A stranger to pride, he despised it in others, and his speech was ever sprinkled with humanity." Such is the character of James V., the restorer of the Order of the Thistle, and whose name is associated with the north-west portion of the Palace of Holyroodhouse.

James was probably induced to revive this "Most Ancient Order" as well from circumstances as from his gallant and chivalrous predilections. In the summer of 1534 the Order of the Garter was remitted to him from Henry VIII. by the hands of Lord William Howard, brother of the Duke of Norfolk; and he soon after received that of the Golden Fleece from the Emperor Charles V., and that of St Michael from Francis I. But no memorial is extant of the proceedings of James when he revived the Order; and Pinkerton's statement seems to be founded in truth, that it is believed not one Knight of the Thistle can be mentioned till the commencement of the reign of Queen Anne. If his conjecture is well founded, that "the Order seems to have been confined to monarchs," we must look to the annals of other countries and to the lives of contemporary princes for such records; and as we are inclined to adopt Pinkerton's conjecture as a satisfactory explanation, it may be safely concluded that the sovereigns of England, France, Spain, and others with

whom James V. was connected or formed alliances, were the Knights of the Thistle when the Order was revived. If this be admitted, the sarcastic remark is unwarranted that the "obscurity of the origin of the Order testifies its want of renown till it was revived with splendour in the eighteenth century." The wretched condition to which Scotland was reduced by a disputed succession to the crown—the wars and inroads of the English—and the characteristic turbulence, ferocity, and restlessness of the Scottish nobility, who were continually divided into factions, and either at feud with each other, or opposing the measures and wishes of the sovereign—these, and other well known circumstances, might operate, and doubtless would operate, among a people only half civilized, to prevent the revival or institution of an Order of Knighthood, of which probably the earlier sovereigns knew nothing or cared little.

It is said that the Knights of St Andrew, or the Thistle, were accustomed at one time to assemble annually in the metropolitan church of St Andrews in Fifeshire, richly habited, and wearing their parliamentary robes, having embroidered thereon, on their left shoulder, "an azure roundle charged with a saltier argent, St Andrew's cross enfiled in centre, with a crown composed of fleurs-de-lis or." This is evidently a flourish of some devout imagination, which set forth not what was, but what it wished to be, and must be ascribed to the partial leanings of national vanity. No such meetings are recorded to have been held in the metropolitan church of St Andrews, which means the now ruined cathedral. It is, however, well ascertained

that an altar was dedicated to St Andrew in the Abbey Church of Holyrood before its dilapidation by the English, though altars in honour of that Apostle were founded in other churches throughout the kingdom. James V. might have entertained the idea of extending the Order, if we are to adopt the very likely supposition that the Knighthood of the Thistle had been hitherto confined to sovereigns, and he might have wished to connect their meetings with the altar of St Andrew in the Abbey of Holyrood; but these are mere conjectures, and are not offered to explain what probably never can be ascertained. The Order of the Thistle, thus revived by James V., was a second time destined to sink into obscurity and oblivion. The early death of the King after the fatal rout of the Scottish army at the Solway Moss—the troubles of the Reformation of religion—the rebellion against Queen Mary, and her deposition—the violence, tumults, and disorders which ensued, overwhelmed or almost obliterated every attachment to the institutions of former times. Chalmers says that the Order was “obscured by the Reformers,” and in this observation he evidently insinuates that this was the result of design. It may be admitted that any Order of Knighthood would have found little favour with John Knox and his noisy declaimers, who would have sounded the alarm against it as a relic of Popery which ought to be suppressed; but no proof exists that those worthy gentlemen knew anything of the *Most Ancient Order of the Thistle*, and therefore a tirade against it did not come within their sphere. If Queen Mary or James VI. had made any attempt to revive it, we may be certain that it would

have been honoured with a special vituperation from men who had made the notable discovery that Popery was not so old as Judaism, and who were of opinion that Mahometanism was a much better religious system. The reign of James VI., after he assumed the government of Scotland, was a continual series of disputes, contentions, and persecutions, originated by the nobles and embraced by the common people. Conspiracy followed conspiracy in rapid succession, and that period of Scottish history has been with propriety called the period of crime. After James succeeded to the English Crown, his residence in the South, and the arduous duties of the monarchy, caused him to view his native kingdom as of minor importance; and the troubles in the reign of Charles I., which terminated in the Grand Rebellion, the Civil War, the murder of the Sovereign, and the usurpation of Cromwell, were too serious to allow time for the restoration of any chivalric institution. It was not till the reign of James VII., otherwise James II., that the restoration of the Order of the Thistle occupied the attention of the Sovereign. His residence in Scotland, and particularly in the Palace of Holyrood, enabled him to perceive that the revival of the Order would be popular with the old Scottish nobility, most of whom were strongly attached to his family and person. He accordingly issued his warrant for letters-patent to be made out, and passed under the Great Seal of Scotland on the 29th of May 1687, to restore the neglected Order. In consequence of the royal resolution several noblemen were nominated Knights, but the Revolution soon afterwards happened, and the Order was once more forgotten. William III.,





Restored by R Tennant Archd

Engraved by J. West

CHAPEL ROYAL AT HOLYROOD
RESTORED AS IT WAS IN THE REIGN OF JAMES VII

Drawn & Engraved for H Courtoy 1847.

who disliked the Scottish nobility for their attachment to the deposed sovereign, whom they considered deeply injured, made no attempt to follow the intentions of his father-in-law, and he was probably aware that few of the nobility would have received an honour from the hands of a prince whom they did not scruple to denounce as an usurper.

The Chapel-Royal was arranged by James II. in a suitable manner for the revived Order of Knights, and the repairs it had received in the reign of Charles II. were greatly extended. A throne was erected in it at the east end, under the window, for the sovereign, and twelve stalls for the members of the Order, whose banners with their armorial bearings and badges were suspended over the stall of each Knight-Companion. This arrangement, it is foolishly said, was in imitation of our Saviour and the Twelve Apostles. The fanatic mob, taking advantage of the excitement occasioned by the Revolution, and animated by a frenzied zeal against the Roman Catholic ritual, proceeded to demolish the edifice. It is already stated that they were opposed by a party under Captain Wallace, stationed in the Abbey, who remained faithful to the interests of James; and that the popular fury at length prevailed,—the Chapel-Royal literally gutted, its furniture broken, and its decorations destroyed, leaving only the bare walls. Even the royal sepulchre of their princes did not escape their sacrilegious fury on this occasion. These outrages, it is lamentable to know, were committed by the sanction of the authorities of the city. Those very men who had lately declared to King James

that "they would stand by his sacred person upon all occasions," and who "prayed the continuance of his princely goodness and care," were now the first in offering their services to the Prince of Orange; to complain of the "hellish attempts of Romish incendiaries, and of the just grievances to all men relating to conscience, liberty, and property."

On the 31st of December 1703 the Order of the Thistle was re-established by Queen Anne according to its former constitution, and was ordered to consist of the Sovereign and twelve Knights; but no notice was taken of the state of the Chapel-Royal, which her father had appropriated for their meetings, and had continued entire for that purpose little more than one year. The letters-patent were issued by the Queen, dated at St James's, for the revival, restoration, and continuance of the Order, and it was ordained by the statutes that "the Sovereign's habit should be such as the Sovereigns themselves should think fit to appoint; that the habit of the brethren should be a doublet and trunk-hose of cloth of silver, stockings of pearl-coloured silk, with white leather shoes, garters and shoe-strings of green and silver; the breeches and the sleeves of the doublet decently garnished with silver and green ribbons; a surcoat of purple velvet lined with white taffeta, girt about the middle with a purple sword-belt edged with gold, and a buckle of gold, at which a sword with a gilded hilt, the shell thereof to be in the form of the Badge of the Order, and the pommel in the form of a thistle, in a scabbard of purple velvet. Over all a mantle or robe of green velvet lined with white taffeta, with tassels of gold and green; and upon the left

shoulder thereof, on a field of green, *the image of St Andrew the Apostle*, bearing before him the cross of his martyrdom of silver embroidery, with a circle of gold round it, upon which the motto, *NEMO ME IMPUNE LA-CESSIT*, in letters of green; and at the lower part of it a thistle of gold and green, the flower reddish: That about the shoulder of each Knight shall be worn the Collar of the Order, consisting of thistles and sprigs of rue going betwixt, and at the middle thereof before should be hung the image of St Andrew, chased and enamelled on rays of gold, the cross and feet resting upon a ground of enamelled green; or, if of diamonds, to consist of just thirteen in number, and that the collar should be tied to the shoulders of the robe; and the Knights have white ribbons upon their heads on days of solemn procession or feasting, where the Sovereign is present, or has a commission to that effect: That they should wear, at the times of permission, a cap of black velvet, a little divided before, wide and loose in the crown, having a large plume of white feathers, with a black aigrette or heron's top in the middle of it, the borders on the cap adorned with jewels: That the Jewel of the said Order should be worn at a green ribbon over the left shoulder, cross the body, and tied under the right arm; each jewel to have on one side the image of St Andrew with the cross before, enamelled, as is above said, or cut on stone, enriched with precious stones round it; and on the back enamelled, on a green ground, a thistle, gold and green, the flower proper, with the before-mentioned motto round it: That the Medal of the Order should be all of gold, the St Andrew bearing before him the cross of his martyrdom,

with a circle round, and then the motto of the Order; and at the lower part of the circle, between the joining of the words, a thistle, to be worn in a green ribbon as the jewel, at times when the jewel is not worn: That upon the left breast of the coat and cloak should be embroidered a badge of proportionable bigness, being a St Andrew's cross of silver embroidery, with rays going out betwixt the points of the cross; on the middle thereof a thistle of gold and green, upon a field of green, and round the thistle and field a circle of gold, having on it the motto of the Order in letters of green."

What might have been the ceremonial proceedings if the Protestant Episcopal Church had continued to be the ecclesiastical establishment of Scotland—in which case the Archbishop of St Andrews might have been Prelate of the Order, and the Bishop of Galloway (who was always Dean of the Chapel-Royal) Dean, it is impossible to say. When the Order was re-established in 1703, Presbyterianism had supplanted the Scottish Church, and as that system then despised any ritual, no installation of the Knights is held, and the star and collar are worn immediately after investiture. Hence, probably, this ancient Order of knighthood attracts less notice than others belonging to this country, or to the continental kingdoms.

An enumeration of all the Knights of the Thistle since the re-establishment of the Order in 1703 would be uninteresting. They were all chiefly Scottish noblemen, whose names and titles are to be found in the usual peerage lists, some of which are now extinct, or passed into distant branches of their families. King James nominated eight Knights—James Drummond,

fourth Earl of Perth; George Gordon, first Duke of Gordon; John Murray, first Marquis of Atholl; James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, afterwards Duke of Hamilton; Kenneth Mackenzie, fourth Earl of Seaforth; John Drummond, first Earl of Melfort; George Douglas, first Earl of Dunbarton; Alexander Stuart, fourth Earl of Moray. Two of those Knights died before the reign of Queen Anne, four lost all their honours by attainder, and the other two survived the Revolution.³

It is customary for a Knight of the Thistle to resign when he becomes a Knight of the Garter. In the case of the Duke of Hamilton above mentioned, when his Grace was made a Knight of the Garter it was intimated to Queen Anne that there was no precedent for a K. T. being allowed to retain the ensigns of that Order after becoming a K. G.; the Queen replied—"Such a subject as the Duke of Hamilton has a most pre-eminent claim to every mark of distinction which a crowned head can confer. I will henceforth wear both Orders myself."

King George I. confirmed Queen Anne's statutes in 1714-15, and additional statutes were made in 1717, in which a minute detail of the ceremonial which ought to be observed at installation is given. By these statutes each Knight was enjoined to pay certain fees;⁴ but as these fees were found "not suitable to the dignity of the Order, and in which there was not sufficient provision made for six heralds, six pursuivants, and six trumpeters," an addition to the foregoing statutes was made in the year 1720-21; and the fees now paid by each Knight-Companion were regulated.⁵ It is, moreover, officially stated that the salary of the Lord Lyon King-at-Arms is L.600, of the Secretary, L.300, and of the Gentleman


Usher of the Green Rod, L.100. The Dean of the Order, who is always a minister of the Presbyterian Establishment, receives L.50 at the admission of every Knight. This was enjoined by King George III. in 1763, when Dr John Jardine was appointed Dean.

King George IV. appointed some extra Knights in 1821, "in contemplation," it was officially announced, "of the approaching coronation," who were to "succeed as vacancies shall occur in the number of the twelve Knights Brethren." In 1827 the same monarch enlarged the number to sixteen, of whom it now consists, with the Officers already enumerated.





THE CANONGATE.


HE motto on the arms of the ancient burgh of the Canongate is *SIC ITUR AD ASTRA*, which is painted so conspicuously on the jail as to intimate, as has been jocularly observed, that the inhabitants consider their prison as the way to heaven. The author of "Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk" thus introduces the Canongate in the peregrination of Dr Peter Morris with his friend Mr Wastle after leaving the domicile of the latter in the Lawnmarket:—"From his

own house the way thither lies straight down the only great street of the Old Town—a street by far the most expressive in its character of any I have ever seen in Britain. The sombre shadow cast by those huge houses of which it is composed, and the streams of faint light cutting the darkness here and there, where the entrance to some fantastic alley pierces the sable mass of building—the strange projectings, recedings, and windings—the roofs, the stairs, the windows, all so luxuriating in the endless variety of carved work—the fading and moulding coats of arms, helmets, crests, coronets, supporters, mantles, and pavilions—all these testimonials of forgotten pride mingled so profusely with the placards of old clothes'-men, and every ensign of plebeian wretchedness, it is not possible to imagine more speaking emblems of the decay of a royal city, or a more appropriate avenue to a deserted palace. My friend was at home in every nook of this labyrinth. I believe he could more easily tell in what particular house of the Canongate any given lord or baron dwelt two hundred years ago, than he could in what street of the new city his descendant of the present day-is to be found."¹

The Canongate, as a burgh, originated with the monks of Holyrood, after the foundation of that Monastery. If the legend narrating the miraculous foundation of that religious house is to be credited, the greater part of the ground on which the Canongate is built was in the reign of David I. a forest, in which deer and other animals of the chase abounded, and luxuriant trees and bushes afforded them ample shelter. The entire locality was royal hunting-ground, in which

the ancient Scottish Kings, whose residence was in the Castle, recreated themselves with the sports of the field. "The Canons," it is stated, "were empowered to settle here a village, and from them the street was called the Canongate. The immunities which the Canons and their villagers enjoyed from David I.'s grant soon raised up a town which extended from the Abbey to the Nether Port of Edinburgh, and the townsmen performed their devotions in the church of the Abbey till the Reformation reversed this regimen."² This introduces us to the absurd statement that the former name of the Canongate was *Herbergare*. Lord Hailes assailed Maitland for assuming that the word *herbergare*, which occurs in David I.'s foundation charter of the Monastery of Holyrood, was the ancient designation of the locality; but it is rightly observed that "in this instance Maitland only adopted an interpretation of the charter, which appears from the legendary history of the Monastery, as well as from certain judicial proceedings in the reign of Mary,³ to have been received with implicit credulity."⁴

The street of the Canongate from the Nether-Bow to the court-yard of Holyrood Palace is a descent of one third of a mile, and, like the High Street, it has an ample number of diverging alleys on both sides. The western boundary of this old suburban burgh at the Nether-Bow is the steep street descending to the north, called Leith Wynd, and on a line extending south is St Mary's Wynd,⁵ which derives its name from a nunnery dedicated to St Mary of Placentia, founded in the twelfth century.⁶ This convent is said to have stood at the north-east corner of the Cowgate,

and gave its name to the meanly built street extending upwards of half a mile farther south, in the direction of St Leonard's and the Dalkeith road,—the word *Placentia* having been for centuries corrupted into *Pleasance*, the name of the street. One half of the houses in St Mary's Wynd were demolished in August 1650, when Cromwell and the English army were encamped near the city, and the reason assigned for their destruction is—that “the enemie could have no shelter there,” and that the citizens might have “free pass to their cannonrie, which they had mounted upon the Nedder-Bow.”⁷

The Canongate, as already observed, derives its name from its former burgal rulers, the Augustine Canons of Holyrood, who also gave their name to the little village and flour mills on the banks of the Water of Leith, still called the Canonmills, on the north-east side of the New Town, on the road to Granton Harbour. With the exception of St John's Close, none of the numerous alleys have ecclesiastical designations, and are known for the most part by their former principal residents, or by some local peculiarity. The erection of the Palace of Holyrood close to the Monastery considerably influenced the future aspect of the burgh, which became the Court end of the city, and previous to the Union was inhabited by many of the nobility, gentry, and persons of rank and distinction. Many intimations occur in old Scottish songs and ballads of the high-bred denizens of the Canongate, and especially of its fair inhabitants.⁸ During the siege of Leith by the Lords of the Congregation and their English auxiliaries, the success of the French garrison in repelling

a desperate assault, and driving back the besiegers, was not a little aided by the exertions of certain ladies, whom the French, with their usual gallantry, entertained in great numbers in their quarters. John Knox furiously denounces the "Frenchmen's harlots," and, according to his account, those heroines mounted the ramparts, on which they remained during the whole of the assault, priming the musquets of the French, pelting the English with whatever missiles they could procure, and throwing down "chimneys" of burning fire upon the foe. A local writer on the history and antiquities of Leith, anxious to vindicate the fair ladies of that place, charitably "inclines to ascribe the honours of this day to *some detachment from the Canongate of Edinburgh*, it being more probable that the Frenchmen drew the greater part of their forces from that far-famed district."⁹

Although many of the houses of the Canongate are of comparatively modern erection, the burgh still retains numbers of antique tenements, several of which are older than Queen Mary's reign; but like those in the city, these structures are rapidly hastening to decay, and are inhabited by a most miserable and squalid population. According to the undoubted authority of Mr Chrystal Croftangry—"Every quarter of Edinburgh has its own peculiar boast, so that the city together combines within its precincts, if you take the word of the inhabitants on the subject, as much of historical interest as of natural beauty. Our claims in behalf of the Canongate are not the slightest.—We will not match ourselves except with our equals, and with our equals in age only, for in dignity we admit of none.

We boast being the Court end of the town, possessing the Palace and the sepulchral remains of monarchs, and that we have the power to excite, in a degree unknown to the less honoured quarters of the city, the dark and solemn recollections of ancient grandeur, which occupied the precincts of our venerable Abbey from the time of St David."¹⁰ These memorials are all which the Canongate now contains. The Union was the chief blow to the burgh of St David's Canons of Holyrood,¹¹ and the opening of the road along the Calton Hill in the year 1817, which rendered the place no longer the chief approach to the city from the east, was the finish to its depression, relinquishing it to the idle and wretched who loiter in its street, and maintain an unenviable existence in its decaying tenements and alleys.¹²

In a peculiarly forbidding alley, the third below St Mary's Wynd, was formerly one of the principal inns in Edinburgh, and the singularly constructed tenement is entered by an outside stair. Dr Johnson, accompanied by Sir William Scott, afterwards Lord Stowell, brother of the Lord Chancellor Eldon, arrived at the White Horse on Saturday the 17th of August 1773, and wrote in it his laconic note to Boswell—"Mr Johnson sends his compliments to Mr Boswell, being just arrived at Boyd's"—the name of the landlord of the White Horse. The habits of the waiter and the condition of the inn soon excited the furious rage of the Doctor, who when Boswell made his appearance was in a towering passion. "Lord Stowell," says Boswell, "told me that before I came in the Doctor had unluckily had a bad specimen of Scottish cleanliness. He then drank no

fermented liquor. He asked to have his lemonade made sweeter, upon which the waiter, with his greasy fingers, lifted a lump of sugar, and put it into it. The Doctor in indignation threw it out of the window. Scott (Lord Stowell) said he was afraid he would have knocked the waiter down."¹³ It is stated that a room in the White Horse was often the scene of runaway English marriages. According to Mr Chambers—"James Boyd, the keeper of this inn, was addicted much to horse-racing, and his victories on the turf, or rather on Leith Sands, are frequently chronicled in the journals of that day. It is said that he was at one time on the brink of ruin, when he was saved by a lucky run with a white horse, which in gratitude he kept idle all the rest of its life, besides setting up its portrait as his sign. He eventually retired from this dirty and dismal inn with a fortune of several thousand pounds, and as a curious note upon the impression which its slovenliness conveyed to Dr Johnson, we may mention, what we learn from unquestionable authority, that at the time of his giving up the house he possessed *napery* to the value of five hundred pounds."¹⁴

A short distance down the street, on the north side, is a tenement of four storeys known as the *Morocco Land*, with a small statue of a Moor in front placed in a kind of stone pulpit. Some curious traditions are still preserved respecting the erection of this tenement and the black personage represented. Farther down the street a circle in the causeway near the south side indicates the site of St John's Cross. Opposite to this memorial of a former age is the alley called the Playhouse Close, in which was erected the first

licensed theatre in Scotland.¹⁵ This fact sufficiently proves the gentility of the inhabitants of the Canongate at the time. It was begun in August 1746 by Mr Lacy Ryan of Covent Garden, but was not opened under the royal license till the 9th of December 1767, though dramatic representations were given in it during that interval, Home's Tragedy of Douglas having been first performed on its boards on the 14th of December 1756. The second story of the first tenement under which St John's Street is entered by an arch was the residence of Mrs Jane Telfer, widow of Alexander Telfer, Esq. of Scotstoun and Symington, and sister of Smollett, who, when he revisited Scotland in June 1766, made the house his abode for some time, and here met his mother, who lived with his sister. On the opposite side of the street is a mean-looking tenement in which is said to have resided Sir Thomas Dalryell of Binns, the terror of the Covenanters in the reign of Charles II., during most of whose reign he was Commander of the Forces in Scotland, and who raised the celebrated cavalry regiment known as the Scots Greys. New Street, on the same side, a few yards distant westward, was formerly inhabited by persons of opulence and celebrity. In the corner house at the Canongate entrance, the garden plot in front of which is occupied by some shops, resided Henry Home, Lord Kames, author of numerous valuable works, who died in December 1782 in the eighty-seventh year of his age. This house was then considered one of the finest in the city, though only of two storeys, the front only of grooved ashlar work. Another eminent Judge of the Scottish Supreme Courts, Sir David Dalrymple, Bart., Lord Hailes, the great

restorer of Scottish history, who died in November 1792, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, resided many years in New Street.¹⁶

The large and elegant mansion called Moray House, formerly the town residence and the property of the Earls of Moray, is conspicuous in this part of the south side of the Canongate. This house is most erroneously asserted to have been built by the celebrated Regent Moray, although the very style of the architecture indicates that at least half a century after his assassination at Linlithgow in 1570 is the real date. It is already stated that the Regent's residence is traditionally alleged to have been an old house in the alley called Croft-an-Righ, a short distance north-east of the Palace of Holyrood, and this tenement he is said to have received as a present from his sister Queen Mary. Moray House was erected in 1618 by James second Earl of Moray, the elder son, by Lady Elizabeth Stuart elder daughter of the Regent, of Sir James Stuart of Doune, who by that marriage became Earl of Moray as the husband of Lady Elizabeth, Countess of Moray in her own right after the Regent's death. James Stuart of Doune married the Countess of Moray in 1580, and he is known as the *Bonnie Earl of Moray*, the alleged favourite of James VI.'s consort, Anne of Denmark. He was murdered by his inveterate enemy the Earl of Huntly among the rocks at his seat of Donibristle near Aberdour in Fife, in February 1591-2; yet it is a curious circumstance, illustrative of the manners of that time, that the Earl of Moray who erected Moray House was not only reconciled to his father's murderer, who had been advanced to the dignity of Marquis of Huntly, but

actually married Lady Anne Gordon his daughter. The Earl died in August 1638, at Darnaway Castle in Morayshire, so that Moray House was his residence when in Edinburgh for nearly twenty years.

Moray House was occupied by Cromwell in October 1648, during his first and peaceful visit to Edinburgh, after having routed the forces of the Duke of Hamilton. It is stated that he resided in the "house of Lady Home in the Canongate," which is apparently an intimation that it was a different house; but it must be observed that James third Earl of Moray, only son of the second Earl and Lady Anne Gordon, married Lady Margaret Home, elder daughter of Alexander first Earl of Home, and co-heiress, with her sister Anne Duchess of Lauderdale, of her brother James second Earl. The third Earl of Moray, who died in March 1653, was a royalist, but he retired to the country during the Civil Wars, and his Countess Lady Margaret was resident in the mansion when in Edinburgh. As it respects Cromwell, while he was at Seton House, the seat of the Earl of Winton, we are told—"Next day, Wednesday, 4th October 1648, come certain dignitaries of the Argyll or Whiggamore party, and escort him honourably into Edinburgh—to the Earl of Murrie's house in the Canongate"—(so in good Edinburgh Scotch do the old pamphlets spell it)—'where a strong guard'—an English guard—is appointed to keep constant watch at the gate, and all manner of Earls and persons of Whiggamore quality come to visit the Lieutenant-General, and even certain clergy come who have a leaning that way.'¹⁷ There is no doubt but the Lieutenant-General did lodge in

Moray House. Guthry, seeming to contradict this old pamphlet, turns out to confirm it.—On Thursday, the 5th of October 1648, came ‘the Lord Provost (Sir James Stewart) to pay his respects at Moray House’—came ‘old Sir William Dick’—an old Provost, nearly ruined by his well affected loans of money in these wars—‘and made an oration in name of the rest’—came many persons, and quality carriages, making Moray House a busy place that day—‘of which I hope a good fruit will appear.’”¹⁸

The next incident connected with Moray House is a melancholy example of political hatred. In the north-west angle of the mansion were two splendid state apartments, the larger of which opened by three windows upon a stone balcony overlooking the street, and enclosed by an iron railing.¹⁹ On the 13th of May 1650, Lady Mary, eldest daughter of James third Earl of Moray already mentioned, married Lord Lorne, afterwards ninth Earl of Argyll, and it is stated that the wedding-feast “stood” in Moray House.²⁰ On Saturday the 18th of May the Marquis of Montrose, the rival of Argyll, was brought from Leith by order of the Covenanting Committee of Estates. He was received with every mark of indignity at the Watergate of the Canongate, his hat taken from him by the executioner, and he was placed on a prominent seat in a cart drawn by a horse, on which rode that functionary. In this condition he was conveyed up the Canongate to the Tolbooth. When he passed Moray House his inveterate enemy the Marquis of Argyll and his Marchioness, Lady Margaret Douglas, a daughter of the seventeenth

Earl of Morton, witnessed with exultation from the balcony the insults he was enduring; and the Marchioness had the meanness to *spit* upon Montrose while he was in this situation, the whole marriage party appearing, and mocking his misfortunes.²¹

Cromwell again occupied Moray House when in Edinburgh in 1650-1, and in 1654 its proprietor, Alexander, fourth Earl, was fined L.3500 by the Protector's "act of grace and indemnity." This Nobleman, who died on the 1st of November 1700 at Donibristle, was Lord High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament which met on the 29th of April 1686. At the period of the Union, and some time before that event, James fourth Earl of Findlater and first Earl of Seafield, Lord Chancellor, resided in Moray House, which was the scene of many confidential discussions in reference to that Treaty. The time when the Noble family of Moray finally abandoned the mansion is not known, though it is called "the Earl of Murray's" in a newspaper advertisement in 1753. The edifice was afterwards leased by the Linen Company of Scotland, who carried on in it their usual business and also that of banking for many years, which obtained for it the less dignified designation of the "Linen Hall." Subsequently to 1845, it was inhabited by a private family. Moray House is said to be entailed,²² but a public advertisement, announcing it for sale, which appeared in the commencement of 1846, contradicts this assertion.

In the centre of the grass terrace behind Moray House is a stately thorn tree which is alleged to have been planted by Queen Mary, but the date of the erection of the mansion refutes this tradition. The

garden consists of a series of antique terraces, in the lower part of which is the small summer-house wherein the Commissioners for the Union commenced signing the Treaty, and were only prevented from completing that ceremony by the enraged mob, whose violence compelled them to select a more obscure scene less likely to be suspected.²³ The garden of Moray House sufficiently indicates its former elegance, with its hewn stone terraces; its decayed fountain, its bowling-green, and the old fruit trees, which impart an aspect of grandeur to this deserted town residence of a Scottish Nobleman. The architecture of the mansion greatly resembles that which prevailed during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was introduced into Scotland before the accession of James VI. to the Crown of England. A conspicuous gateway from the street leads into a court-yard, and access to the principal apartments was obtained by a turnpike or spiral staircase. An arched passage in the centre of the mansion leads into an inner court, in which are the private staircase, the access to the gardens, and comparatively modern additions to the original building, which displays little external ornament. Above the windows occurs a profusion of coronets and the initial letter M., and above the middle window opening upon the balcony is a lozenge shield with the arms of the Earls of Moray.

An old tenement, the upper part of which is of wood, a few yards below Moray House, is alleged to have been once a residence of the Noble Family of Gordon, Earls and Marquises of Huntly and Dukes of Gordon. It is supposed to have been the Mint, or "cunzie house," in the reign of Queen Mary. It is a mean-looking edifice,

having various sage inscriptions on the front. One is—
CONSTANTI PECTORI RES MORTALIUM UMBRA, and another—
UT TU LINGUÆ TUÆ, SIC EGO MEAR: AURIUM DOMINUS SUM.
The first Marquis of Huntly, already noticed as the murderer of the “Bonnie” Earl of Moray near Donibristle, was committed to Edinburgh Castle in December 1635, on a charge of abetting sundry violent and dangerous outrages between the Gordons and Crichton of Fren-draught, whose lands were plundered and his cattle carried away by the former. After an imprisonment of several weeks the Marquis was permitted to remove to his house in the Canongate, where he became seriously unwell. He was anxious to return to his own Castle in the North, and was conveyed on a bed within his chariot, but he got no farther than Dundee, where he died on the 13th of June 1636, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. Lady Henrietta, daughter of the celebrated general Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough and Monmouth, and Dowager of Alexander second Duke of Gordon, resided in the family house in the Canongate in 1753.²⁴ This house was apparently the residence of the previous Duchess of Gordon, mother of the second Duke, before she removed to a villa in the suburb on the north of Holyrood Palace known as the Abbeyhill. This Duchess was Lady Elizabeth Howard, second daughter of Henry, Duke of Norfolk, by Lady Somerset, daughter of the Marquis of Worcester. Her Grace survived the Duke sixteen years, and died at the Abbeyhill on the 16th of July 1732, when she was Dowager Duchess. She occasioned considerable excitement in 1711, by sending to the Dean and Faculty of Advocates a silver medal with a head of the Chevalier

St George on one side, and on the other the British Isles, with the word *REDDITE*. The Dean presented the medal at a meeting of the Faculty, and a discussion ensued on the propriety of accepting it, when it was carried by sixty-three to twelve to receive the medal, and to return thanks to the Duchess. Two Advocates were deputed for that purpose, who waited upon her Grace, and expressed their hope that she would soon have occasion to compliment the Faculty with another medal in honour of the "Restoration." According to Wodrow, the Duchess, after her removal to the Abbeyhill, made her house a seminary for instructing young persons in her religious and political principles. Under date 1728 he writes—"I am told that the Duchess of Gordon, a most active zealous Papist, is now gone out of the Canongate, and taken a house betwixt and Leith, which is just turned a seminary for corrupting of youth, especially young girls. She keeps a dispensatory, and distributes medicines gratis, and has got in a great many poor gentlemen's children."²⁵ Her Grace, in short, was a zealous adherent of the Stuart dynasty, and her high rank rendered her particularly obnoxious to the Presbyterians.

Almost opposite, on the north side of the street, are the burgh jail and court-room—a building erected in the reign of James VI., having a projecting clock and a small spire, the motto of the Canongate—*SIC ITUR AD ASTRA*, and the arms of the burgh, conspicuous on the walls,²⁶ fixed to the lower part of which is a stone cross upwards of twelve feet high, which formerly stood in the centre of the street. This antique edifice is externally in front of a neat appearance, but the

interior of the prison department is peculiarly forbidding, the rooms occupied by the compulsory inmates above the court-room small, inconvenient, and ascended by narrow stairs. The entrance to the edifice from the pavement of the street is by an outside stair, and the ground story was used as a Police station.

Immediately adjoining is the Canongate parish church—a plain erection in the form of a cross, which some local writers absurdly allege was so constructed to please James II., though all the connection which that unfortunate monarch had with it was to sanction the money for the expense of the building. The King's letter to that effect is dated Windsor, 28th June 1687. In it he states that the church of Holyroodhouse, which had been long used as the parish church of the Canongate, in his opinion improperly, as it belonged to the Palace, was to be fitted up for the meetings and installations of the Knights of the Thistle, and also for the performance of divine service when he and his household happened to be in Edinburgh. This, of course, was to be after the Roman Catholic ritual. The King enjoined the Privy Council to "order and require the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town-Council of our city of Edinburgh to deliver up the keys of the church of Holyroodhouse to the Earl of Perth, our Chancellor, to the end it may be left, and by us fitted to be the Chapel of the said Order (of the Thistle) in time coming;" and the Magistrates and parishioners were to resort to Lady Yester's church for divine service until a new church was built in a convenient part of the Canongate out of the money donated by Thomas Moodie, merchant, in 1649, for the erection of a church in the Grassmarket—which was

abandoned on account of the inconvenience of that locality. The reason for selecting Lady Yester's Church in preference to any other for the devotional exercises of the parishioners is, that it was "more convenient for many of them" than that of Holyroodhouse;²⁷ and the King presented the Bailies with all the "lofts and galleries, seats or pews," which were in the latter church.

The Town-Council received 34,000 merks from Mr Moodie's donation, which had greatly increased by the accumulation of interest, and they employed an architect and builder named James Smith to plan and erect the Canongate Church, after paying 9000 merks for the site and the ground required for the cemetery. The architect added some "decorations" to the edifice which he was not compelled by the contract to introduce, such as the portico in front, and probably the deer's head surmounted by a cross between the antlers, which figures on the top of the front of the church, in allusion to the heraldic arms of the Canongate. As the sum originally allowed for the erection of the building was found to be inadequate to complete it, the Kirk-Session of the Canongate petitioned the Parliament on the 19th of May 1693, alleging that their new church built by "order and direction of the late King James, in place of the Abbey church, with part of the moneys mortified by umquhile Thomas Moodie, and left in the hands of the Good Town of Edinburgh," is an "edifice so vast and large that it will require a great deal of money to maintain its roof and windows, and to preserve it from the violence of stormy weather; and as the reparation thereof within has already engaged the Kirk-Session of the said parish in the debt of 4000 merks

Scots money, so it doth yet require a great deal more of work and artifice both in the floor and roof, that it may be made more easy for the preacher, and more useful, commodious, and comfortable for all the hearers, especially for persons of honour that do frequent the same"—adding, that they had no funds or endowments of their own—"not having so much as an allowance for communion elements, or paying the meanest attendant on the church, but what comes from the poor's box;"—that the "weekly collections of a considerable part of the parish are otherwise applied, and collections that are made at the new church door not able to maintain the half of the poor of the place;" concluding their petition by reminding the Parliament that "there is a considerable part of Moodie's money yet in the hands of the said Town of Edinburgh." On the 19th of May the Parliament ordered the Magistrates of Edinburgh to answer this petition on or before the 26th, and on the 13th of June the Estates enjoined them to pay 9000 merks Scots, or "as much of the said sum as is yet in their hands of the sums mortified by the deceased Thomas Moodie, to be applied by the petitioners for the uses within mentioned, at sight and with advice of the Keeper of the Palace of Holyroodhouse, or his deputes, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and the Baron and Gate Bailies of the Canongate."²⁸ On the 30th of June the Parliament passed a "decreit in favors of Mr James Smith anent the building of the Canongate Church," in which the whole expenses of the edifice are minutely detailed. The original "precept" for the erection specified a payment of 34,000 merks, of which 9000 were for the ground, and the builder declared that he could not complete the work unless

he was allowed an additional sum of 11,162 merks. The Parliament authorized the Magistrates to pay to him the sum of L.6000 Scots "by and attour the sums contained in the precepts drawn by the Lords of their Majesties' Thesaurarie upon the Town of Edinburgh in favours of the petitioners for building of the above-mentioned church and church-yard dykes."²⁹

In the surrounding cemetery several distinguished persons are interred. Close to the east end of the jail, and next to the street, is the tomb of George Drummond, Esq., one of the greatest promoters of the modern extension of Edinburgh, founder of the North Bridge and the Royal Infirmary, six times Lord Provost of the city, who died on the 4th of November 1766, in the eightieth year of his age. A few yards north of Provost Drummond's tomb is a small monumental pillar indicating the grave of the Right Rev. Robert Keith, one of the Bishops and Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church, author of the "History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland" from the commencement of the Reformation till 1567, and of the "Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops," who died on the 20th January 1757 in his seventy-eighth year. In the immediate vicinity is the tomb-stone erected by Robert Burns at the grave of his brother poet in misfortune, Robert Ferguson, who terminated an idle and dissipated life on the 16th of October 1774 in his twenty-fourth year. The tomb of Dugald Stewart, who died at Edinburgh on the 11th of June 1828 in his seventy-fifth year, is in the lower part of the cemetery, and is a strongly built arched structure. Adam Smith, the celebrated author of "The Wealth of Nations," who died in his sixty-

eightth year, is also interred in the Canongate churchyard near the gateway on the west side. Here also is a family tomb of the Noble Family of Mackenzie, Earls of Cromarty, so created in 1703. Isabel, daughter of Sir William Gordon of Invergordon, Bart., Countess of George third Earl, who was attainted and condemned, though the capital sentence was remitted, for his connection with the Enterprise of 1745, was interred here in 1769; and in 1789 their eldest son Lord Macleod, the last of that ancient race, also connected with the Enterprize of 1745, pardoned, and created Count Cromarty and Commandant of the Order of the Sword by the then King of Sweden, was laid in this tomb. Several distinguished Italian musicians noticed by Alexander Campbell in his "Journey through Scotland," are interred in the Canongate cemetery, and in May 1824 Campbell himself was added to the number of ingenious men whose remains lie within its precincts.

Between the Canongate Church and the Palace of Holyrood were several mansions, the designations of which indicated the rank of the former proprietors or residents. At the end of a narrow alley called Munro's Close stood Panmure House—a deserted looking tenement now removed, and latterly occupied by the families of tradesman. Whether it was ever inhabited by the Earls of Panmure (William, the fourth of whom, was attainted for his connection with the Enterprise of 1715) is uncertain, but in 1753 it was the property of his nephew William Maule, created Earl of Panmure in the Peerage of Ireland, who died in 1787. In an advertisement published in May 1753,⁸⁰ announcing that the house was to be let, it is described as "a very good

convenient lodging, pleasantly situated amidst gardens on the north side of the Canongate, a little below the church, belonging to the Right Honourable the Earl of Panmure, and lately possessed by the Countess of Aberdeen,"³¹ enumerating the rooms, kitchen, cellars, and other conveniences, "all enclosed within a handsome court-yard." Dr Adam Smith occupied Panmure House after 1778, when he was appointed a Commissioner of Customs in Scotland, and he resided in it along with his cousin, Miss Jenny Douglas, an old spinster who managed his domestic affairs till his death in 1790.

On the opposite side of the street is Milton Lodge or House, surrounded by enclosures, built by Andrew Fletcher of Milton, nephew of Fletcher of Salton, and Lord Justice-Clerk of Scotland from 1735 to 1748, when he resigned, though he retained his seat on the Bench as a Judge in the Court of Session till his death in 1766. In Reid's Court opposite resided Thomas seventh Earl of Haddington, James seventh Earl of Lauderdale, and the learned, ingenious, and eccentric James Burnett, Esq., a Judge in the Court of Session by the title of Lord Monboddo from 1767 till his death in 1799, the author of the celebrated work on the "Origin and Progress of Language," in which he argues that "the human race were originally gifted with tails." Farther down the street is Whiteford House, and near it stood the town residence of the Earls of Winton, the fifth of whom was attainted for his connection with the Enterprise of 1715. Below this locality is the house in which Dr Alexander Rose, the deprived Lord Bishop of Edinburgh at the Revolution, died in 1720

—the last survivor of all the Scottish Prelates who were possessed of Sees before that event.

The most conspicuous structure in this part of the Canongate is Queensberry House, a large edifice, erected, with the exception of the upper story, by William third Earl and first Duke of Queensberry as his town residence, and which, with the surrounding ground, was included within the county of Dumfries in 1706 for some political purpose. This Nobleman, who exercised the chief power in Scotland during the latter part of the reign of Charles II., built also the magnificent seat of Drumlanrig Castle in Dumfries-shire, after he was deprived of all his offices for not concurring with the wish of James II. in 1686 to remove the penal acts against the Roman Catholics. His Grace died in Queensberry House in 1695, and the mansion was inhabited by his son and successor James the second Duke, the last Lord High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament, and as such chiefly instrumental in effecting the Union with England. The last occasional occupant was his son Charles third Duke, who was born in the mansion, and with his Duchess, Lady Catherine Hyde, the daughter of Henry Earl of Clarendon, and cousin-german of Queens Mary and Anne, patronized the Poet Gay. The Duke died in 1778, upwards of twelve months after the Duchess,³² but the mansion was often inhabited by other noblemen during his lifetime. The great Earl of Stair died in it in May 1747, and the last Duke of Douglas, who resided in it some time during his latter years, died in it in July 1761. His Grace, however, occupied the half of the mansion, and the Earl of Glasgow, who was Lord High Commissioner to

the General Assembly from 1764 to 1772, rented the other half. William, fourth and last Duke of Queensberry,³³ who died at London in 1810 in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and who inherited the Scottish Dukedom in 1778, allowed the occupancy of the mansion rent-free to Sir James Montgomery, created a Baronet of the United Kingdom in 1801, successively Solicitor-General of Scotland, Lord Advocate, and Lord Chief-Baron of the Exchequer, who died in 1803. Queensberry House was eventually sold to William Aitchison, Esq. of Drummore, near Musselburgh, who intended to convert it into a distillery, and who realized almost as much as he paid for the mansion and ground by the public sale of the marble decorations and other ornaments. This purchaser in turn sold the property to Government for a much greater sum than he had paid for it, and the extensive, heavy, and sombre looking structure was made a barrack for infantry in 1811. The Edinburgh ducal residence of the former Dukes of Queensberry, whose honours and territorial possessions passed in 1810 to the Noble Families of Buccleuch and Wemyss, has subsequently been occupied as a fever hospital, and, as if to be in unison with the squalor and decay of the Canongate, literally as the *House of Refuge for the Destitute*, in which the poorest of the community find temporary shelter and support.


Some curious reminiscences are recorded of the proprietors of Queensberry House. The Covenanters believed that the first Duke, the founder of the mansion, possessed the *black art*, and could transfer himself to any distant place whenever he pleased. His Grace is pronounced to be a "persecutor" in the "instances" of

"God's judgments" at the end of a book well known in Scotland, entitled "The Scots Worthies," in which it is stated that he died of the *morbus pediculosus*, or of vermin which emanated in myriads from his body, though it is ascertained that he died at Edinburgh of fever. It is also asserted in that mendacious production, that on the day and hour of his decease a Scottish seaman saw the figure of his Grace in a coach drawn by six horses driving furiously to the crater of Mount Etna, while a voice thundered forth—"Make way for the Duke of Drumlanrig!" His Duchess, Lady Isabel Douglas, sixth daughter of William first Marquis of Douglas, frequently resided at Queensberry House when the Duke was at Sanquhar Castle, for it is said that he slept only one night in Drumlanrig Castle, because, having become unwell during that night, he nearly died for want of attendance—the immense size of the edifice preventing his domestics from hearing his calls for assistance. The Duke was a most determined enemy to "hill-men and beggars," as he termed the Covenanters, and the last years of his life were occupied in keeping Mr William Veitch, a noted "hill-man," or field-preacher, out of the parish church of Peebles after the Revolution, in which he eventually succeeded by a most zealous litigation.

The second Duke resided constantly in Queensberry House when in Edinburgh as Lord High Commissioner to the Parliament. Many of the preliminary details connected with the Union were also arranged within its walls; and for his services in securing that great measure he received a pension of L.3000 per annum, was vested with the whole patronage of Scotland, and was

created a British Peer by the titles of Duke of Dover, Marquis of Beverley, and Earl of Ripon. This Nobleman, by his Duchess Mary, daughter of Lord Clifford, eldest son of Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington and Cork, had four sons, the third of whom succeeded as third Duke, and three daughters, the second of whom, Lady Jane, married Francis Earl of Dalkeith, afterwards Duke of Buccleuch, and was the grandmother of Henry Duke of Buccleuch, who succeeded in 1810 as heir of entail to the Dukedom of Queensberry.

Tradition records a dreadful event which occurred in Queensberry House. The eldest son of the second Duke died in infancy, and the second son became Earl of Drumlanrig, but was unfortunately insane, gluttonous, and extremely dangerous. It is stated that when the family resided in Queensberry House the Earl was always confined in a ground apartment in the western wing of the mansion, the windows of which were darkened by boards to prevent him looking out, or any one recognising him. On the day the Union was passed, the man whose duty it was to attend the Earl resorted among the excited crowd to the Parliament Close, leaving only the Earl and a little kitchen boy in the house, the latter engaged in turning a spit on which a joint of meat was roasting. The insane youth broke out of his apartment, and, attracted in his wanderings through the house by the savoury odour from the kitchen, he proceeded thither, took the meat from the fire, killed the boy, and spitted the body, which was half roasted when the deed was discovered. It was long believed that the Duke ordered his unhappy son to be smothered, but it is said that he survived his father



many years, though the titles devolved to Charles his younger brother, and that he died in England.²⁴

Charles third Duke resided in Queensberry House when in Edinburgh, which was seldom any length of time. He is already mentioned as the patron of the Poet Gay, who resided both here and at Drumlanrig, and while in Edinburgh was a frequent visitor of Allan Ramsay at his book shop in the tenement subsequently known as Creech's *Land* near the Cross. The Duchess—Lady Catherine Hyde—is said to have been insane, though she was the theme of poetical effusions by Gay, Prior, and Pope, and she had a particular aversion to the prevailing Scottish tastes and manners. His elder son Charles Earl of Drumlanrig had betrothed himself to a lady, but the alliance was not considered sufficiently dignified, and he was married at Hopetoun House to Lady Elizabeth Hope, eldest daughter of John second Earl of Hopetoun. Though the lady was amiable, and the Earl of Drumlanrig was ardently attached to her, his previous contract rendered them most unhappy, and they were often seen weeping together. At last, in 1754, when in his thirty-second year, during a journey to London, he shot himself near Bawtry in Yorkshire with one of his own pistols, while riding in a coach with his Countess, preceding that in which were the Duke and Duchess, and his only brother. It was given out that the pistol had been accidentally discharged, and the Countess of Drumlanrig, who never recovered the shock, died of grief in 1756.

Such were some of the former denizens of the Canon-gate, or rather town-residents and proprietors when in Edinburgh. A short distance below Queensberry House,

and on the same side, opposite the Watergate, stood Lothian Hut, a neat little modern edifice within a small court erected by one of the Marquises of Lothian. It was occupied many years by Dugald Stewart, who accommodated in it pupils from all parts of the kingdom, among whom may be mentioned the then Lord Henry Petty, who succeeded his half-brother in 1809 as third Marquis of Lansdowne, and his cousin as fourth Earl of Kerry in 1818, and who has filled the offices of Secretary of State for the Home Department and Lord President of the Council.

Almost opposite, in the centre of the street, on the boundary of the precincts of the Sanctuary, stood the Girth Cross of Holyrood, the site of which is marked in the causeway. This was formerly one of the usual places of execution, and was the scene of the decapitation, on the 5th July 1600, of Jean, daughter of John Livingstone of Dunipace, related to some of the first families in Scotland, and the wife of John Kincaid of Warriston near Edinburgh, whom, with the assistance of her nurse, and a former man-servant of her father, and two female associates, she was accused of murdering by strangling him in his bed, on the 1st of July of the above year, although from her own confession the man-servant was the actual perpetrator by the instigation of the nurse, who declared that she would achieve the murder herself if he refused. Before her execution it is recorded in the "Memorial" of her "conversion" relative to her husband—"I think I hear presently the pitifull and fearfull cryes which he gave when he was strangled, and that vile sin which I committed in

murdering mine own husband is yet before me. When that horrible and fearfull sin was done, I desyred the unhappy man who did it (for my own part the Lord knoweth I laid never my hands upon him to do him evil, but as soon as that man gripped him, and began his evil turn, so soon as my husband cryed so fearfully, I leapt out over my bed, and went to the hall; I sat all the time, till that unhappy man came to me, and reported that mine husband was dead)—I desired him, I say, to take me away with him, for I feared tryall, albeit flesh and blood made me think my father's moen (influence) at Court would have saved me." Lady Warriston also directly implicated the nurse, but she declared that any other person accused was entirely innocent of the crime, and "knew nothing of this deed before it was done, and the mean time of doing it." The crime was soon made known to the city authorities, and Lady Warriston, as she was usually designated by courtesy, and her two female accomplices, were apprehended *red-hand*, as the seizure of persons in the actual perpetration of murder is designated in Scotland. The man-servant, named Weir, escaped for a time, refusing to allow Lady Warriston to accompany him in his flight, saying—"You shall tarry still, and if the matter come not to light, you shall say that he died in the gallery, and I shall return to my master's service; but if it be known, I shall fly, and take the crime on me, and none dare pursue you." He was, however, apprehended four years afterwards, on the 26th of June 1604, was tried and condemned to be broken on the wheel at the Cross of Edinburgh, his body to be set up betwixt Warriston and Leith.³⁵ It appears that he was broken on a

common cart-wheel, which is the first recorded instance of the infliction of such a punishment in Scotland. As for Lady Warriston and her female accomplices, they were condemned to be executed on the evening of Friday the 4th of July, only four days after the murder had been committed. On the morning of the 5th the two females were burnt on the Castlehill, an hour after Lady Warriston's execution at the Girth Cross. The early infliction of the punishment at sunrise is alleged to have been in compliance with the earnest solicitations of Lady Warriston's relations, who wished that it should be as private as possible, and her father is accused of displaying such apathy towards her, that he would neither intercede for a mitigation of the sentence nor even see her previous to the execution. Her punishment, by the intercession of her relatives, was changed from burning after strangulation to decapitation by the "Maiden." Although she was only twenty-one years of age, it is stated that "in the whole way as she went to the place of execution she behaved herself so cheerfully as if she had been going to her wedding, and not to her death." When she came to the scaffold at the Girth Cross, and was carried up to it, she looked at the Maiden, which she had never before seen, with "two longsome looks," and she repeated her confession of the crime at each of the four corners of the scaffold. After concluding her devotional exercises, one of her relatives presented a cloth to cover her face, to fasten which she took a pin out of her mouth. She laid her neck on the cross beam, and the executioner from behind pulled out her feet that her neck might be elongated, and more readily receive the stroke of the axe; but she drew

in her limbs twice, endeavouring to rest herself on her knees. During this preliminary she continued in earnest and audible praying ejaculations, such as—"Lord Jesus, receive my spirit! O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy on me! Into thy hand, Lord, I commit my soul!" When she uttered this latter sentence to the word "Lord," the axe fell, and severed her head from her body.³⁶ It appears from the details that Lady Warriston's husband was considerably older than herself, and their marriage was the reverse of a love match. In the indictment against the man-servant Weir, it is set forth that she was induced to plot the murder of her husband by his cruel treatment of her—"byting of her in the arme, and striking her dyverse tymes." This so much enraged her that she resolved to commit the crime for which she suffered. She twice sent Janet Murdoch, the nurse of her child, for Robert Weir, who was then residing in the Abbey of Holyrood, who came to see her at Warriston, but for some unexplained reason he was not admitted. The third time he obtained an interview, and it was then arranged that he should conceal himself in a cellar till midnight, when he was to enter the Laird of Warriston's bed-room and murder him on his couch. Lady Warriston brought this wretch from the cellar at the time appointed, went alone to her husband's bed-room, and after the murder returned to her own bed. The crime was effected under peculiar circumstances. When Weir entered the apartment the Laird of Warriston was roused by the noise, and, leaning over the bed, demanded the cause of the intrusion. The murderer leapt upon him, or, as it is detailed in the

quaint language of the indictment, he "cam rynnand to him, and maist crewallie, with faldit neiffis (fists) gave him ane deidlie and crewall strack on the vane organe (jugular vein), and thairefter crewallie strak him on his bellie with his feet, quhairupon he gave ane grit cry: and the said Robert (Weir), feiring the cry sould haif been heard, he thairefter maist tyrannouslie and barbarouslie with his hand grippit him by the thrott or waisen, quhilk he held fast ane lang tyme, until he wirreit him, during the quhilk tyme the said John Kincaid lay struggling and fechting in the paines of daith under him."³⁷ During the short space which intervned between her sentence and execution, Lady Warriston contrived to become as great a saint as this world ever produced; she went to the scaffold with a demeanour more like a martyr than a criminal; she incessantly uttered pious exclamations, and declared that she was confident of everlasting happiness. The few spectators of her decapitation at the Girth Cross, instead of cherishing horror for her crime, were zealous admirers of her saintly conduct, and ardently treasured every devout word she spoke. Mr James Balfour, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and colleague of the noted Mr Robert Bruce, wrote an account of her "conversion," and from his narrative it would appear that her fate was more a matter of envy than of justice.³⁸

A short distance to the north-west of the Girth Cross were the chapel and alms-house of St Thomas, which Maitland absurdly places opposite to Trinity College Church at the foot of Leith Wynd "to the south." This small religious and charitable institution, which has long been removed, was founded by George

Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, who died in 1522, a successor in that See of the celebrated Gawin Douglas. The charter of foundation is dated 1541, about three years before Bishop Crichton's death. It most loyally declares that the former had granted, in "pure and perpetual alms to the honour of Almighty God, the most blessed Virgin Mary, and all saints, the lands of Lochflat, with their pertinents, in the sheriffdom of Edinburgh," in trust to James Greig and John Faw, chaplains, and their successors, celebrating divine service at the altars of St Catharine and St Andrew in the southern chapel, near the high altar, of the adjacent monastery church of Holyrood. This was done for the souls of James I. and his three successors, the soul of Mary of Gueldres, consort of James III., the soul of John Earl of Mar, brother of James IV., the soul of John Duke of Albany, another brother, the soul of James V. "present" King of Scots, Magdalene of France, his consort, and their son the Duke of Rothsay, the founder's own soul, the souls of his father, mother, all his relations, predecessors and successors, and of all whom he had offended, or from whom he had received any benefit. The founder next enumerates the endowments, and the duties to be performed. Each of the chaplains was to receive twenty-four merks annually, and forty shillings were to be paid to the Canons of Holyrood, to celebrate the founder's anniversary obit, by singing in the choir of their church, on the day of his death, the *Placebo* and *Dirige*, and a mass on the day following, for the repose of his soul and of the souls of the above-mentioned persons. The sum of sixteen shillings was to be paid for eight wax candles, two in each of the chapels, two on

the high altar, and two on the founder's tomb, thirty shillings for four wax candles to be burnt on the altar during the first and second vespers, and the festivals throughout the year; ten shillings for six tapers to be burnt on the anniversary during mass; three shillings for ringing the great bells, and eight pence for ringing the hand-bell in the streets of Edinburgh and the Canongate; two shillings to the bearers of torches about the altar and the founder's tomb; ten shillings for bread and wine for the celebration of masses at the altars, and twenty shillings to repair the decorations of the same. Thirty shillings were to be annually given to thirty poor persons, an annuity of L.4 to the church of St Mary in the Fieds; the Abbot and Canons of Holyrood were to receive L.8 yearly as a quit-rent for the lands of Lochflat, and seven poor old men were to be lodged in the almshouse to be built by the founder near the Abbey of Holyrood, with the annual sum to each of twenty-four merks. The charge of the lands and tenements to defray the above expenses was to be vested in the chaplain and his successors who officiated at St Andrew's altar in the church of Holyrood, for which the annual salary of twenty shillings was to be awarded, and the surplus was to be appropriated to repairs of the house and furniture. The patronage was to be vested at first in the founder, and next in certain persons of the name of Crichton, his heirs, failing whom it was to devolve to the Abbot and Canons of Holyrood. The chaplains at the beginning of each daily mass were to exhort the people to say one *Paternoster*, with an *Ave*, for the soul of the founder and the other persons, and then to proceed

in white vestments to his grave, which they were to sprinkle with holy water, and say the Psalm *De Profundis*, and prayers for the dead; again sprinkle the founder's tomb and the people present with holy water, and weekly recite the *Placebo* and *Dirige*. The chaplains were to have the sole controul over the alms-men, whom they were to remove if they persisted in breaking the rules of the house, and those alms-men were to rise at eight in the morning, say fifteen Paternosters, as many *Aves*, three *Credos*, and pray before the chapel for the founder's soul and the souls of those he enumerates, to wear red gowns on Sundays and Festivals when they appear in the church of Holyrood for divine service, at high mass before the altar in the chapel of that church they were to say fifty *Aves*, five *Paternosters*, and one *Credo*, in time of vespers to say two Rosaries of the Blessed Virgin, to wear their red gowns in all public processions, and not to beg under the penalty of ejection.

Little is known of the subsequent history of the Hospital of St Thomas, which Maitland describes in 1753 as "very ruinous," and must have been on the site of the tenement of two storeys resting on built-up arches in the North Back of the Canongate, a few yards west of the Watergate, and entered by a narrow alley and court from the front street. Maitland says that the chapel was converted into a coach-house in 1747. The Magistrates of the Canongate purchased the property, with consent of David Crichton of Lugton, the patron, in 1617, to be occupied as the burgh poor's-house. They rebuilt or repaired the tenement in that year, and in their wisdom displayed the figures of two

old cripples, a man and a woman, under which was the inscription—"Helpe here the Poore, as ze wald God did zou, June 19, 1617." This tenement is now inhabited by very poor families, the lands and other property connected with the foundation have long passed into other hands, and the existence of St Thomas's Chapel and Hospital is a mere tradition.³⁹

Some memorials of the former official inhabitants of the precincts of Holyrood, and of the amusements of royalty, still exist near the Palace. Between the site of Lothian Hut and the street called the Horse Wynd is a space known as the Chancellor's Court, and on the east side of the street at the Watergate is the Tennis Court, which has been burnt and rebuilt since Maitland's time. It derives its name from the game fashionable throughout Europe during the seventeenth century. Here were the first theatrical performances after the Reformation in 1599, when Queen Elizabeth at the request of James VI. sent a company of actors, who were licensed by the King, to the great annoyance of the Presbyterian ministers, who in vain anathematized the Thespian visitors. In 1680 the Duke of York brought a part of his own company to amuse him during his exile in Scotland, and in Queen Anne's reign concerts were given in the Tennis Court conjoined with the theatrical representations. Robert Bellenden, Abbot of Holyrood in the reign of James III., had a residence, the site of which is occupied by a modern building, on the north side of the porch of Holyrood, and the garden behind, generally now mentioned as the north garden of the Palace, in which is an antique sun-dial called Queen Mary's, was connected with this


property. East of the Tennis Court, on the same side, is the house which was occupied by Sir John Stuart, first Earl of Traquair, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, who is conspicuous in the religious and political contentions of Charles I.'s reign, and who, notwithstanding all his power and influence, was in such poverty after he returned from an imprisonment of four years in Warwick Castle, that he was actually seen begging in the High Street of Edinburgh before his death in 1659.

The lodgings of the Earl of Bothwell, at the time he murdered Lord Darnley, were on the south side of the then Palace of Holyrood, but the whole of this part of the locality has been so much altered that no vestige of the former houses in the Precincts is to be seen. Bothwell returned to his bed in his residence early on the morning of the murder which was perpetrated by his myrmidons, after avoiding the dangerous drop over the city wall in Leith Wynd, to prevent him and his associates from passing the keeper of the Nether-Bow gate, by which they nevertheless were compelled to proceed, and they went to Bothwell's house by St Mary's Wynd and the South Back of the Canongate. This and other events are already narrated in the history of the Palace.





RIDING OF THE PARLIAMENT.

HE following is an account of the ceremonial or procession called the "Riding" of the Scottish Parliaments.¹

"Upon the first Meeting of each Parliament the Members went to the House in great solemnity, and the Procession, or the Riding of the Parliament, was conducted with great splendour.

The streets of the City of Edinburgh and Canongate were cleared of all coaches and carriages, and a lane formed by the streets was railed in on both sides, within which none were permitted to enter but those who went in procession, the captains, lieutenants, and ensigns of the Trained-Bands excepted. Without the rails, the streets were lined with the Horse-Guards, from the Palace of Holyroodhouse westwards; after them, with the Horse-Grenadiers; next with the Foot-Guards, who covered the streets up to the Nether-Bow; and thence to the Parliament Square by the Trained-Bands of the city; from the Parliament Square to the Parliament-House by the Lord High Constable's Guards; and from the Parliament-House to the Bar by the Earl Marischal's Guards.

The Crown, Sceptre, and Sword, were then brought from the Castle of Edinburgh to the Palace in a coach, carried by three Earls bareheaded, and attended by a guard till they came to the King, or his Commissioner;

and as the Regalia passed along, the people were expected to uncover.

The Members of Parliament, with their attendants, assembled at Holyroodhouse, and the rolls of Parliament were called by the Lord Register, Lord Lyon, and Heralds, from the windows and gates of the Palace; from which the procession thus moved to the Parliament House.

When the King or Lord Commissioner was ready, the Members of Parliament mounted their horses, with rich footcloths and trappings, in the great court before the Palace; and the Burgesses, two and two, each allowed a lacquey; two Trumpeters and two Pursuivants, in their coats, bareheaded, ushering the way, and followed by four doorkeepers of the Courts of Justice on horseback. Next came the Commissioners of Burghs and Knights of Shires, two by two, each having two pages, the said Commissioners and the Burgesses attired in cloaks. Then came such Officers of State as were not noblemen, and two doorkeepers of the Council brought up the rear.

Next to them rode the Lords, two and two, in their robes, according to their several degrees; then came four Trumpeters bareheaded, two and two; four Pursuivants in their coats, two and two; six Heralds in the same manner; then the Gentleman Usher, bareheaded; next Lyon King-at-Arms bareheaded, in his proper habit and foot-mantle, with his baton in his hand. Next them came the Sword of State, the Sceptre, and the Crown, carried by three of the ancient Nobility bareheaded. On each side of the Regalia were three mace-bearers bareheaded; after them came a Nobleman

bareheaded, with a purse containing the warrant of the Lord Commissioner; last of all came the Lord Commissioner himself, with the Dukes on his right and the Marquises on his left. When the King was present the Master of the Horse rode near, but a little aside. Each Duke had eight lacqueys, a Marquis six, an Earl four, each Viscount and Lord three; and every Nobleman had a Gentleman to hold up his train. The rear was brought up by the Horse-Guards.

During the establishment of the Episcopal Church the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow were allowed the equipage of Dukes, and the other Bishops that of Lords. When the King was present, the Lord Chancellor, bearing the Great Seal, proceeded before the Marquises, who rode after the Earls, and the Dukes after the Marquises. The lacqueys had over their liveries short velvet coats embroidered with their badges, crests, and mottos.

The great Officers of State in their robes rode from the Palace about half an hour before the cavalcade, attended by their friends on horseback, and waited in the Parliament House:—the Lord High Constable seated in an elbow-chair at the door.

When the Lord High Commissioner entered he was received by the Lord High Constable, and by him conducted to the Earl Marischal, between whom his Grace, ushered by the Lord High Chancellor, was conveyed to the throne. When the King was present, the Lord Chancellor received his Majesty at the door of the Parliament House, and ushered him to the throne. All the Members of Parliament waited on the King, or Commissioner, in the great hall; the Noblemen in their

scarlet robes, faced with ermine, according to their degree, the Guards following, and the streets being lined with the Trained-Bands. The Throne was raised six steps, with a canopy of state over it. On the first step sat the Lord Chancellor, with other great Officers on each side; on the next step sat the Judges; on the right hand of the throne were two rows of benches, upon which the Archbishops and Bishops formerly sat. In the middle of the floor were two tables, one for the Regalia; and near it, in two great chairs, sat the Lord High Constable and the Earl Marischal; at the other table sat the Lord Clerk-Register, with his deputies the Clerks of Parliament. The Commissioners for Shires sat upon forms on the right side, and the Commissioners for Burghs on the left. If the King was present he spoke to them in his robes, with the Crown upon his head, all the Members standing uncovered; but the Commissioner appeared only in a common wearing suit, and spoke uncovered.

The Members returned in the same order, only the Constable and Marischal rode on the Commissioner's right and left hand, with caps of permission.

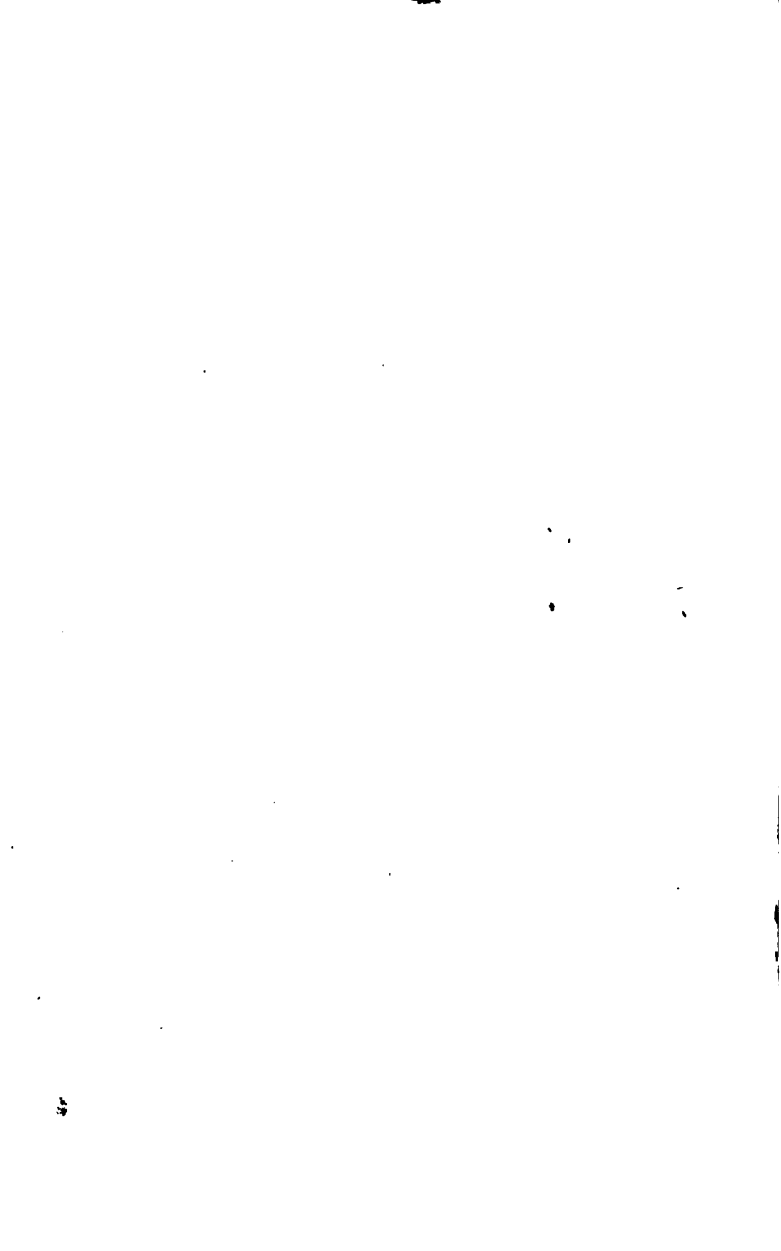
When the Parliament rose, the procession returned in nearly the same order to Holyroodhouse, where the Members were magnificently entertained at supper.

The Lord Chancellor and Lord Privy-Seal remained behind till all withdrew, and then returned in the same state to the Palace as they had come to the Parliament House. The same ceremonial of Riding was observed also on the last day of the Parliament."



NOTES AND REFERENCES.







NOTES AND REFERENCES.

CHAPTER I.

NOTE (1) P. 1. THE first James is alleged to have uttered this witty remark. John Major asserts that when the King visited the sepulture of David I. he exclaimed—"Maneas illic, Rex pientissime, sed reipublicæ Scotiæ et regibus inutilis." Bellenden, who, according to the conjecture of Lord Hailes, probably related the *traditional* version of the words, renders the observation—"He was ane sore sanct for the Crown."—Lord Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*, 4to. vol. i. p. 98.

(2) P. 2. Lord Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*, 4to. vol. i. p. 97.

(3) P. 2. Bellenden's account is suspected to be an interpolation, for, though inserted in the printed editions of his "Chronicle," it is not in some of the MSS. of that work. It may, however, have been communicated to him at a subsequent period by his namesake and probably relative, Robert Bellenden, Abbot of Holyrood.—*Bannatyne Miscellany*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. vol. ii. p. 11, 12.

(4) P. 2. This MS., which is in fine preservation, is in the possession of Alexander Pringle, Esq. of Whytbank, formerly M.P. for Selkirkshire, appointed, in 1845, Principal Keeper of the Register of Sasines for Scotland.

(5) P. 3. *Liber Sancte Crucis: Munimenta Ecclesie Sancte Crucis de Edwinesburg*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. Preface, p. xi. xii.

(6) P. 5. According to Nisbet (*System of Heraldry*, folio, 1742, vol. i. p. 334), a Knight named Sir Gregan Crawford interposed and killed the stag; and its head, with a cross between the antlers, became the armorial distinction of his descendants, as it was of the Monastery of Holyrood. Father Hay most erroneously assumes that the Rood Well is the same as St Anthony's Well, the fine spring below the ruins of St Anthony's Chapel at the north-western base of Arthur's Seat. The precise locality of the Rood Well of Holyrood, at which tradition says the pious King David quenched his thirst after his encounter with the infuriated stag, is not ascertained, or at least no spring has been so designated for centuries. In 1845, among other improvements in progress in the royal parks, a well was formed or opened on the northern base of Salisbury Crags, where the hill slopes into the park near the Queen's Road. This spring or well has been named the "Rood Well," but whether it will become known as such is another question.

(7) P. 5. "Anno 1128, cepit fundari ecclesia Sanctæ Crucis de Edenburch."—*Chron. de Mailros*; *Chron. S. Crucis*; Father Hay's "*Diplomatum Collectio*" in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, in "*Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*," printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, Preface, p. xvi. The statement that David I. was the *third son* of Malcolm III. and the canonized Queen Margaret means that he was the *third surviving son*, who succeeded his father, for David was Malcolm's *sixth* and *youngest son*.

(8) P. 5. Notwithstanding the interval between the foundation of the Abbey of Holyrood and the date of the great charter, David I., in an assembly of his Magnates held in 1128, granted the foundation charter—"regali auctoritate, assensu Henrici filii mei, et episcoporum regni mei, comitum quoque baronumque confirmatione et testimonio, clero etiam acquiescente et populo."—*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, folio, 1844, vol. i. p. 57.

(9) P. 5. Father Hay, however, alleges that the Canons of Holyrood continued to reside in the Castle till the reign of William the Lion, which extended from 1165 to 1214. Referring to the year 1176, Father Hay says—"Att which time the

Monastery of Holyroodhouse was as yet seated in the Castle of Edinburgh, and these Canons were in possession of the buildings of the Nuns, who gave to the Castle the name of *Castrum Puellarum*. These Nuns had been thrust out of the Castle by Saint David, and in their place the Canons had been introduced by the Pope's dispense, as fitter to live amongst soldiers. They continued in the Castle during Malcolm the Fourth his reign, upon which account we have severall charters of that King granted *apud Monasterium Sanctæ Crucis de Castello Puellarum*. Under King William, who was a great benefactor to Holyroodhouse, I fancie the Canons retired to the place which is now called the Abbey, and upon the first foundation which was made in honour of the Holy Cross they retained their first denomination of Holyroodhouse."—*Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, Preface, p. xxii.

(10) P. 6. "Quod et loci opportunitate et operis magnificentia et censuum copia et reliquarum rerum commoditate primas Europæ ecclesias et monasteria, si non vincit, facile tamen adæquat. In humili planetie, uliginosa, atque ex vicini montis impedimento minus pervia ventis, ponitur, eoque ad salutem minus apta, ut sanctæ olim quæsisisse viderentur virtutem acquirendam ex instituto, sed infirmate perficiendam."—*Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. xvi.

(11) P. 6. "Templum augustum in tres partes erat divisum; Sanctuarium ad quod gradibus ascendebatur, in cujus medio sacra mensa; Chorum qui clero deputatus, cui pulpitum herebat, ex quo Epistolæ et Evangelia recitari solita; Narthecem seu navim, in qua populo præfinitus orandi locus. Chorum a navi separabat porta-media seu speciosa Populus clero semotus divina mysteria per clathros suspiciebat."—*Ibid.* p. xvi.

(12) P. 6. In the parish of Airth, which is part of the fertile Carse of Falkirk, is a stone bridge over a tributary of the Forth, on the road from Falkirk and Carron to the villages of Airth and Dunmore, known as the *Abbeytown Bridge*, indicating the former connection of the Abbey of Holyrood with the district, and near is a mineral spring called the *Lady's Well*.

(13) P. 6. Hamer is one of three ancient parochial divisions forming the present united parish of Whitekirk and Tynninghame in Haddingtonshire. The church of Hamer was long known as *White-Kirk*, from the whiteness of its appearance. When Edward III. invaded Scotland, the sailors who attended him on land plundered the church of Hamer of a statue of the Virgin Mary and other valuables. The residing Canons of Holyrood could only retaliate by their prayers to the Virgin, whom they invoked so successfully, that a furious storm made the marauders repent their temerity.—New Statistical Account of Scotland—Haddingtonshire, p. 39. It is stated that the Canons of Holyrood also possessed the ancient parish of Mount Lothian, near the base of the Pentland Hills, now a part of the parish of Penicuik. Mount Lothian, properly Monks' Lothian, was a Chapelry, on the extensive grounds of which the Canons pastured their cattle and sheep.—New Statistical Account of Scotland—Edinburghshire, p. 29. The Canons had also the privilege of feeding their hogs on the fertile tract now the parish of Duddingstone between Arthur's Seat and the Frith of Forth, south-east of their Abbey.—Ibid. p. 389.

(14) P. 8. All this is witnessed or attested by Robert, Bishop of St Andrews, John, Bishop of Glasgow, Henry "my son," William "my nephew," Edward the Chancellor, Herbert the Treasurer, Gillemichael (Earl) Gospatrick, brother of Delphin, Robert Montague, Robert de Burnville, Peter de Bruce, Norman Vice-Comes, Oggu Leising, Gillise, William de Graham, Tristram de Crectune, Blemus the Archdeacon, Ælfric the Chaplain, and Walteran the Chaplain.—Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis, p. 6; Maitland's History of Edinburgh, folio, p. 144-147.

CHAPTER II.

(1) P. 10. "ANNO 1176, Vibianus titulo Sancti Stephani in Coelio Monte, Presbyter Cardinalis Apostolici Sedis Legatus, venit in Scotiam, et anno 1177, ex Hibernia in Scotia redux, apud Castrum Puellarum prælatos regni Scotie convocavit, et

plurima renovans antiquorum decreta, et nova insuper statuens, concilium Kalendis Augusti solemne celebravit."

(2) P. 10. "Totius regni Scotorum prelati, ecclesiarumque rectores, comites etiam ac procures, Domini sui jussu et eorum mero consensu, apud Monasterium Sanctæ Crucis de Edinburg" congregati."

(3) P. 10. Lord Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 131, 132. Father Hay, however, states that the sum was 5000 merks—"quinque millia marcarum."—*Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*, Preface, p. xxii.

(4) P. 11. Lord Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 132, 133. His Lordship alleges that the "quantum" of the aid granted to William the Lion "was ascertained in a convention of some sort at Musselburgh."

(5) P. 11. Bishop Keith, in his *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops* (4to. Edin. 1755, p. 162), says that Henry, Abbot of Holyrood, was consecrated to the See of Galloway by Walter, Archbishop of York; but in the "*Chronicon de Lanercost*," cited in "*Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*," it is recorded that he was consecrated by the Bishop of Durham. The Archbishop of York in 1255 was Walter de Gray, Lord Chancellor, and the Bishop of Durham was Walter de Kirkham. Hence, probably, the mistake of the name.

(6) P. 12. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, folio, 1844, vol. i. p. 61.

(7) P. 12. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, folio, vol. i. p. 4. The sixth page of this elaborate collection of documents contains a list of articles found in a chest in a dormitory of Holyrood. Four years before 1310 an order was issued by the English monarch to restore the Abbey lands to the Canons.

(8) P. 12. Dempster, however, designates him "Alexander Montgomericus, canonicus Lateranensis, Abbas S. Crucis sub Monte Doloroso."—*Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum, sive de Scriptoribus Scotis*, 4to. Edinburgh, 1829, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, vol. ii. p. 475.

(9) P. 12. *Rymer's Fœdera*, folio, vol. iii. p. 1022.

(10) P. 13. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, folio, 1844, vol. i. p. 123-127.

(11) P. 13. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 64.

(12) P. 13. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i.

(13) P. 14. Indentura de Munimentis captis in Thesaurio de Edinburg, per Preceptum Regis Anglie, apud Berewyk, anno Domini millesimo cc.lxxxxi (1291).—Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, folio, 1844, vol. i. p. 5, 6.

(14) P. 16. Gregory's History of the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland, 8vo. 1836, p. 37.

(15) P. 16. A contemporary chronicler thus records the coronation of the youthful sovereign in 1436.—“Wes the coronacioun of King James the Second with the red scheik, callit *James with the fyr in the face*, he beand bot six years auld and ane half, in the Abbey of Halyrudhous, quhair now his banys lyes.” Chronicle at the end of Winton MS. cited in “Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis,” Preface, p. xlix.

(16) P. 17. Lives of the Officers of the Crown and of the State in Scotland, by George Crawford, folio, Edin. 1726, p. 363.

(17) P. 17. History and Chronicles of Scotland, written in Latin by Hector Boece, translated by John Bellenden, Archdeacon of Moray and Canon of Ross, 4to. Edin. 1821, vol. ii. p. 298-9.

(18) P. 18. In 1508 are the following entries—

“*Item*, payit to James (Doig) to cartaris and pynouris for carrying of beddis claithes and hingingis fra the Castell to the Abbey and other places, xxxj s.

“*Item*, to the said James he laid doune for stray to beddis, and for strowing of the Abbey Close with girse (dried meadow hay) the tyme of the MARRIAGE, xxxv s.

“1506-7. Feb. 16. *Item*, to Wantonnis (players) that sang to the King, xiiij s. *Item*, to Wantonnis that the King fetchit, and gart her sing in the Quene's chalmer, xiiij s. *Item*, to the Quene of the Cannongait (elsewhere called the *May Queen* and the *Auld Queen*), xiiij s.” On the 12th of May 1508, an Englishman named Cuthbert received thirty-six shillings for a naked mask introduced in the Abbey yard of Holyrood.

CHAPTER III.

(1) P. 31. THE inscription purports to be—"In clarissimum virum Alexandrum Milnum, Lapidam egregium, hic sepultum; Anno Dom. 1643, Feb. 20," and prefaces some Latin verses, from which it appears that he died in the thirtieth year of his age.—Maitland's History of Edinburgh, folio, p. 159. It may be here stated that the wood-cut of the royal arms of Scotland inserted at the end of this Chapter is from the original oak carving which stood over the principal entrance to the Chapel-Royal.

CHAPTER IV.

(1) P. 33. "ITEM, 1502, Oct. 20. To Walter Merlioun, mason, in part payment of his task of the foirwerk and the new hall in Halyrudhous, xl lib.

"1502-3. *Item*, to William Turnbull, mason, in part of his task of the gallery and boss windows in Halyrudhous, ix lib. vj s. viij d.

"1502-3. *March* 15. *Item*, to John Brown, mason, his quarter fee for himself and his man, quhen he cam fra Faulkland to werk in Halyrudhous, x lib.

"1503. *July* 15. *Item*, for xij punscheonis of plaistir to the turatis of the fore yett in Halyrudhous, ilk puncheon, xiiij s.; *summa*, iiij lib. xvij s."—Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis, Preface, p. lxvi. lxvii.

(2) P. 34. Register of the Privy Seal, cited in Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis, Preface, p. lviii.

(3) P. 34. "1504. *Item*, to John Yorkstoun, mason, in his task of the arding and topping of the chimnais of Halyrudhous, at twa divers tymes, xxj lib. vij s.

"1505. *July* 18. *Item*, to Walter Merlion, mason, in payment of his task for completing the tower in Halyrudhous, xl lib.

"1505. *Nov.* 13. *Item*, payit to Walter Merlion, in compleit payment of iij^c merks for the completing of the Tower in

Halyrudhous, xxij lib. xij s. iiij d., and so all payit therefor." Although these entries prove that the Palace was founded by James IV., comparatively little was done till the reign of James V., who proceeded with his father's designs in the erection of the edifice. See the second note to Chapter V.

(4) P. 35. Leland's *Collectanea*, edited by Hearne, 8vo, London, 1770, vol. iv. p. 258-300.

(5) P. 36. James, Duke of Ross, and Archbishop of St Andrews, second son of James III. and brother of James IV. He died in 1504, at least the See was vacant in 1505.

(6) P. 36. The illustrious William Elphinstone, founder of King's College and University in the cathedral seat of the Bishopric.

(7) P. 36. Those Prelates were apparently Edward Stewart, who was Bishop of Orkney in 1516, Andrew Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, John Fraser, Bishop of Ross, James Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, and George Brown, Bishop of Dunkeld.

(8) P. 37. Andrew Forman, afterwards Archbishop of St Andrews.

(9) P. 39. According to the very loyal Mr John Young, Somerset Herald, the Queen was "nobly accompanied with her ladies richly arrayed," and the robes of the Countess of Surrey, the two Ladies Neville, the Lady L'Isle, the Lady Stanley, and the Lady Guildford, are specially mentioned.—Leland's *Collectanea de Rebus Britannicis*, vol. iv. p. 293.

(10) P. 39. The dress of James IV. and his Queen on this occasion is thus described by Mr Young—"The King was in a gowne of whit damaske, figured with gold and lyned with sarsanet. He had on a jackette with slyffs cramsyn satyn, the luts of blak velvet, under that sam a dowblet of cloth of gold, and a payre of scarlatte hosys. His shirt broded with thred of gold, his bonnet blak, with a rich valay, and his sword about him. The Quene was arrayed in a rich robbe, lyke hymselfe, borded of cramsyn velvet, and lyned of the self. Sche had a varey riche collar of gold, of pyerrery and perles, round her

neck, and the croune upon hyr hed, hyr hayre hanging. Betwyxt the said croune and the hayres was a varey rich coyfe hangyng down behynde the whole length of the body."—*Ibid.* p. 293, 294.

(11) P. 40. The viands are also enumerated:—"At the first course (the Queen) was served of a wild boar's head, then with a fayr piece of brane, and in the third place with a gambon, which were followed by divers other dishes, to the nombre of xii, of many sortes in fayre and ryche vessells. At the second service the Quene was served very honourably of xl and l meys."—The word "mey" is evidently a contraction of the French term *menye*, *mengye*, or *menye*, signifying the domestics of an household.

(12) P. 42. The orthography of "my Lord Treithoun" and "Sir John of Treytoun" is that of Mr John Young, Somerset Herald. Who they were it is impossible to conjecture, unless George second *Lord Seton*, ancestor of the Earls of Winton, and *Sir John Seton*, are the individuals specified. Mr Young commits most extraordinary blunders in Scottish names, such as *Acquick* and *Dacquik* for *Dalkeith*.

(13) P. 43. Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. iv. p. 288-300.

(14) P. 44. This tower was subsequently fortified. In the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, dated August 1538, is the entry—"Item, to William Hill, for mending of the municiones (artillery and fortifications) in the tower of the Abbay, at the Kingis command, x lib. x s."—*Pitcairn's Criminal Trials*, vol. i. Part I. p. 295.

(15) P. 44. "1516, May 8. Item, to Maister Thomas Hamilton and James Barroun for certane gestis and buirdis deliverit be thame to my Lord Governouris servatouris for the makin of ane turnpek in the Palis of the Abbay (of) Halyrudhous, be my Lord Governouris command, xxij lib. xvj s. Item, the samen day, Maister John Carpenter, wright, to pay certane workmen for the bigging of the said turnpek, be my Lord Governouris precept, xvij lib. ij s. xj d."—*Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*, Preface, p. xxi. lxxii.

CHAPTER V.

(1) P. 49. THE following are specimens—"Jan. 7. 1539-40.—*Item*, gevin to the Sacristane of the Kingis Chappell for carrage of the chappell geir fra Striveling to Linlythgu at Zule (Christmas), and fra Linlythgu to Edinburghe, at the Quene's coronatione, as his bill beres, vi lib. v s. viii d. *Item*, for making ane fasshioun of the King's croune, weyand iii. pund wecht x. unces, and thair of gold of the myne xli. unce quarter unce xxx. lib. *Item*, for xxiii. stanes thairto, of the quhilkis thair was iij. grate garnettes and ane grate amerot (emerald), price of the iij, vi lib., and price of the uther xix. stanes, xij s., *summa*, xix lib. vj s. This croune deliverit to the King in the Palice of Halyrudehous the viij. day of Februar following." Some details follow in connection with the coronation of the Queen in 1540.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. p. 299, 300, 301.

(2) P. 49. The residence of James V. at Holyrood is often mentioned in the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts, and from these it appears that a private chapel in the Palace was unconnected with the Abbey church. A "pair of organs" were purchased in January 1541-2, and Sir David Murray of Balvaird, Knight, received L.400 on the 24th of that month in "recompence of his lands of Duddingstone tane into the new park besyde Halyrudehous." The following "geir" was provided for the King's Chapel and the Palace, and paid in 1541—"Browdery and warkmanship of three Jesus wrocht with crowne of thorne, three names of Jacobus Quintus, with the Kingis armes and crowne above the heid, and twa unicornes besand the samen, price of all, vij lib." In the above year Robert Murray, plumber, was paid L.20 (Scots?) as his "pension" for upholding the lead of the Palaces of Holyrood and Linlithgow, and George Balgavy received L.6. 13s. 4d. for "keeping" the former. October 16, 1514—"For hinging the tapestrie in Halyrudehous, and doun-takin of the samen, vij s." On the 21st, fifteen ells of black velvet, and on the 25th a coat with black velvet sleeves, a doublet of black satin, with other articles, were delivered to

James V. in Holyrood, to be worn as mournings for his mother, the Dowager Queen Margaret, who died at Methven Castle on the 21st of October.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. The architect of the Palace employed by James V. was Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, illegitimate son of James second Lord Hamilton and first Earl of Arran by a daughter of Lord Boyd. He was in great trust and favour with James V., and was appointed Treasurer to that monarch. It is stated—"He purchased in a short time a vast fortune in lands, equal to, if not much beyond, the House of Hamilton itself, as was supposed; and for strong and stately houses, being the King's *Master of Work*, and the *principal architect of that age*, there was none did equal for the royal housis, that was, the Palace of Holyroodhouse, Linlithgow, Falkland, and some of the forework of the Castle of Stirling. A great part of these stately buildings was either built or much repaired by him."—*Memorie of the Somervills*, edited by Sir Walter Scott, vol. i. p. 315, 316. Sir James Hamilton subsequently perished on the scaffold on a charge of treason.

(3) P. 50. The inscription is thus rendered—"When Leith, a town of good account in Scotland, and Edinburgh the principal city of that nation, was on fire, Sir Richard Lea, Knight, saved me out of the flames, and brought me into England. In gratitude to him for his kindness, I, who heretofore served only at the baptism of the children of kings, do now most willingly offer the same service even to the meanest of the English nation. Lea, the conqueror, hath so commanded. Adieu! A. D. 1543, in the 26th year of King Henry VIII." "The victor's spoil," observes Sir Walter Scott, "became the spoil of rebellious regicides, for during the Civil Wars this sacred emblem of conquest was taken down, sold for its weight, and ignobly destroyed, nor would the memory of Sir Richard Lea's valour have survived, but for the diligence of an accurate antiquarian."—*Border Antiquities of England and Scotland*, 4to. vol. i. p. 77.

(4) P. 50. Kincaid's History of Edinburgh, 12mo. 1784, Appendix, No. XXIV. p. 327.

(5) P. 51. Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. iii. p. 360.

(6) P. 51. These payments were estimated at 442 bolls of wheat, 640 bolls of bear, 560 bolls of oats, 500 capons, two dozen of hens, two dozen of salmon, twelve loads of salt, and a number of swine. The Canons of Holyrood had the right of pasturing their hogs in the extensive tracts now forming the finely cultivated parish of Duddingstone, between Arthur's Seat and the Frith of Forth. See the Rental of Holyrood Abbey in Keith's "*History of the Affairs of the Church and State in Scotland*," folio, Appendix, p. 185. It is therein stated that the money amounted to L.2926, 8s. 6d. Scots.

CHAPTER VI.

(1) P. 58. THE Ettrick Shepherd indulges a poetical license in describing Queen Mary's progress from Leith to the Palace, See the "*Queen's Wake*," by James Hogg, 8vo. Edin. 1819. p. 12. He thus romances—

"Slowly she ambled on her way
Amid her lords and ladies gay.
Priest, abbot, layman, all were there,
And presbyter with look severe.
There rode the Lords of France and Spain,
Of England, Flanders, and Lorraine;
While serried thousands round them stood
From shore of Leith to Holyrood."

(2) P. 54. Hardwicke's *Miscellaneous State Papers*, 4to. London, 1778, vol. i. p. 176; Cecil to Throgmorton, 26th August 1561.

(3) P. 55. This was Knox's production levelled also against Queen Elizabeth and all female sovereigns, entitled—"The First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regimen of Women," published in 1557, and printed in his "*Historie of the Reformatioun of Religioun in Scotland*," folio, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 468-487.

(4) P. 55. Randolph to Cecil, 7th September 1561, in Bishop Keith's "*History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*,"

edition of the SPOTTISWOODE SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 80; folio edit. p. 189.

(5) P. 56. The interview is recorded by Knox in his "History," folio, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 287-292. It is also the subject of a splendid painting by Sir William Allan.

CHAPTER VII.

(1) P. 57. THIS is undeniably the correct date, and not the *fifteenth*, as given by Bishop Keith.

(2) P. 59. The adventures of the alleged original diamond ring belonging to Mary are thus recorded. This ring, on which were engraved the arms of England, Scotland, and Ireland quartered, and produced in evidence at the trial of the Scottish Queen, as a proof of her pretensions to the Crown of England, was in possession of the late Mr Blanchford, one of the Lords of the Admiralty at the time of his death. The history of this fatal ring is curious. It descended from Mary to her grandson, who gave it on the scaffold to Archbishop Juxon for his son Charles II. That Prince during his troubles and privations pawned the ring for L.300. It was subsequently purchased by Governor Yale, and sold at his sale for L.320, supposed for the Pretender. It afterwards came into the possession of the Earl of Isla, who eventually succeeded as Duke of Argyll, and probably from him to the family of Mr Blanchford. At the sale of his effects it was said to have been purchased for George IV., then Prince Regent.—*Edinburgh Evening Courant, Thursday, September 25, 1817.*

(3) P. 62. This story is told by Crawford, in his "Lives of the Officers of the Crown and of State of Scotland," (p. 91), on the authority of Gordon of Straloch, who obtained his information from his father, Gordon of Pitlurg, who is described as the Earl of Huntly's "great confident and trustee."—Bishop Keith evidently credited the story (History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland, printed for the SPOTTISWOODE

SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 174), but the truth of it cannot be ascertained. The enemies of the Earl of Moray, the future Regent, who was at mortal feud with the Gordons, assert that the warrant was procured and sent by him to Dunbar to behead Huntly. No evidence apparently exists which can authenticate this statement.

(4) P. 63. Knox's *Historie of the Reformatioun of Religioun in Scotland*, folio, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 317.

(5) P. 64. This is the sarcastic statement of John Knox in reference to the Queen's "painted oration," as he terms it, to the Parliament. He records other exclamations in his peculiar phraseology, which, he says, "might have been heard among her flatterers—*Vox Dianæ*, the voice of a goddess (for it could not be *Dei*), and not of a woman! Was there ever oratour spake so properly and so sweetly?"—*Historie*, folio, 1732, p. 330.

(6) P. 65. To *taggard* was to border the skirts, *Scottice tails*, of women's gowns with tassels.

(7) P. 65. *Scrip* means a *mockery*, and Knox intimates that the preachers were ridiculed for their very hazardous and unnecessary attempts to reform the dresses of the ladies in Edinburgh, and particularly those of the ladies of Holyrood Palace. Chalmers observes (*Life of Mary Queen of Scots*, 4to. vol. i. p. 107)—"The ladies, it would seem, had more influence in Parliament than the preachers, who did not reflect that there might be too much reformation as well as too little." This regulation of the attire of the dames and damsels of Edinburgh was attempted in 1636 by the Town-Council, who, notwithstanding the political excitement of the time, and as if they had nothing else to occupy their attention, issued what Maitland in his "*History of Edinburgh*" quaintly calls a "thundering act" to prevent women wearing plaids on the streets, simply because "matrons could not be discerned from strumpets and loose-living women," enjoining that "nae women weir their gowns or petticoats about their heids and faces, under the pain of ten pounds (Scots) to be paid for the first fault, twenty pounds for the second, and under such farder pains as shall

please the Council to inflict upon them for the third fault;” servants, and damsels of low degree, to be fined forty shillings (Scots, or 3s. 4d. sterling) for the first fault, five pounds for the second, and banishment from the city for the third offence. Maitland properly observes that the “makers of this ordinance” must have been “weak men,” and if a law had been issued “against women going naked in the streets, the punishment for the breach of it could not have been more severe, unless our wise Council had converted *banishment* into *death*.”

(8) P. 66. Andrew Stewart, second Lord Ochiltree, a zealous Reformer, whose second daughter, Margaret, became the second wife of John Knox, by whom she had three daughters. This union excited much gossiping jocularly at the expense of the lady, who was severely criticized for falling in love with a man so repulsive and forbidding in personal appearance and manners as John Knox. Lord Ochiltree's second son was the unprincipled Captain James Stewart, of Bothwellmuir, constituted Lord Chancellor by James VI., and killed in 1596 by Sir James Douglas of Parkhead, nephew of the Regent Morton, in revenge for bringing that Nobleman to the scaffold; and his third son, Sir William Stewart of Monkton, was assassinated by Francis Earl of Bothwell in the Blackfriars Wynd of Edinburgh in 1588.

(9) P. 67. Lord John Stuart died soon afterwards at Inverness, while holding a Justice Court with his illegitimate brothers the Earl of Moray and Lord Robert of Holyroodhouse, in which two witches were condemned to be burnt. Knox alleges, on common report, that on his deathbed he urged the Queen to abandon her “idolatry,” and lamented that he had supported her in her “impiety” and “wickedness against God and his servants.” Yet Knox adds, that “in very deed, grit cause had he to have lamented his wickedness,” and records one of his sayings against the preachers, which was—“Or I see the Queen's Majesty so troubled with the railing of these knaves, I shall leave the best of them stickit in the pulpit.”—*Historie*, folio, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 335.

(10) P. 68. Knox's *Historie of the Reformatioun in Scotland*, folio, Edin, edit. 1782, p. 331-334.

(11) P. 68. Dr Jamieson (*Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, 4to, 1808, vol. i. *sub voce*) conjectures that the term *dontibours*, if it has not a "worse meaning, denotes *pensioners*, from the French *domter*, or *donter*, to subdue, and *bourse*, a purse,—quere, those who emptied the Queen's purse. I suspect, however," continues the learned Doctor, "that the term, especially as opposed to *maids*, rather signifies that these were *dames* of easy virtue. *Dunty*, which is probably contracted from the other, still bears this meaning. Thus, *bourse* might admit of a metaphorical sense." He adds, that Sir David Lindsay (*Works*, 1592, p. 311) seems to use it in some such signification. That Knox expresses the word in a reproachful sense is evident from another passage in his "*Historie*." He says—"The auld dontibours, and uthers that long had served in the Court, and hes no remissioun of sinnes but by vertué of the Mess, cryed, They wald to France without delay, they could not live without the Mess. The same affirmed the Queen's uncles."

(12) P. 68. The Queen's servants—the same as *menyie*, *mengyie*, or *menye*, the domestics of an household. See the eleventh note to Chapter IV.

(18) P. 69. The "two brethren" whom Knox and his associates intended to fescue were the zealous Patrick Cranston and a man named Andrew Armstrong. This Andrew Armstrong and a George Rynd, described as burgesses of Edinburgh, found surety on the 1st of October 1563 to "underly the law," on the 24th of that month, for breaking the Queen's proclamations, carrying "pistolets" within Edinburgh and the Canongate, and for "convocation of the lieges at the palace of Holyrood, and invading sundry of the Queen's domestic servants therein." On the 24th, the case was adjourned till the 13th of November, when Cranston was ordered to appear. It is curious, however, to observe, that on the day Armstrong and Rynd were arraigned for their disorderly conduct. Christian Pinkerton, described as

spouse of James Roger, and twenty-one men and women, evidently in the lower ranks of life, were prosecuted for attending mass in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood; Archibald Trench and his wife, and John Brown, were denounced rebels, and their cautioners "unlawed."—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. p. 434, 435; Randolph to Cecil, *apud* Bishop Keith's History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland, printed for the SPOTTISWOODE SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 210; Archbishop Spottiswoode's History of the Church and State of Scotland, folio, London, 1677, p. 188; Knox's Historie, Edin. edit. 1732, pp. 335, 336; Calderwood's Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, vol. ii. pp. 230, 231.

(14) P. 69. Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 548, entitled—"For stancheing and suppressing of Tumults within Burrowis."

CHAPTER VIII.

(1) P. 71. DIURNAL of Occurrents in Scotland, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 77.

(2) P. 71. Randolph to Cecil, MS. in State-Paper Office, 24th October 1564, in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 297, 298. In that letter it is stated that Lennox presented Maitland of Lethington, then Secretary of State, and the Earl of Atholl, with diamond rings—"as also somewhat" to the Countess of Atholl—"to divers others somewhat, but to my Lord of Moray nothing." It appears, however, that the Countess of Lennox sent a diamond to the Earl of Moray, and Lennox was anxious to conciliate the Privy Council. Moray then apparently resided in the antique tenement on the west side of the alley called *Croft-an-Righ*, locally *Croftangry*, behind the Palace, leading from the royal park of St Anne's Yards to the suburb of the Abbeyhill on the south-east base of the Calton Hill.

(3) P. 73. MS. Letter in State-Paper Office, Randolph to Leicester, 19th February 1564-5, and to Cecil, 27th of that month, in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 314, 315.

- (4) P. 74. Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 349, 350.
- (5) P. 75. Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vi. p. 356.
- (6) P. 76. Randolph to the Earl of Leicester, 31st of July 1565, in Wright's "Queen Elizabeth and her Times, a Series of Original Letters," vol. i. p. 201, 202.

CHAPTER IX.

- (1) P. 79. TYTLER'S History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 21-23.
- (2) P. 79. Sir William Drury to Sir William Cecil, 16th February 1565-6, in Bishop Keith's History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland, printed for the SPOTTISWOODS SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 403-405.
- (3) P. 80. Chalmers' Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 75.
- (4) P. 81. Chalmers' Life of Mary, vol. ii. p. 175.
- (5) P. 81. Riccio is thus described by Buchanan—"Non faciem cultus honestabat, sed facies cultum destruebat." This is corroborated by other writers, and it is stated that Riccio was an *old man* when he was employed at Court. "EHe tratioit ordinairement," says Caussin, "avec David Riccio son secretaire, homme aage et prudent, possedoit son oreille." Blackwood alleges that "estoit bien respecte de sa maitresse, non per aucune beaute ou bonne grace, qui fust en luy, estant homme assez aage, laid, morne et mal plaisant, mais pour sa grande fidelete, sagasse et prudence;" and a third writer mentions Riccio, as "*senex quidem et corpore deformis*."—Caussin *apud* Jebb, vol. i. p. 37; Blackwood's Martyre de Marie, *apud idem*, p. 202; Con, Vita Marise, *apud idem*, p. 24; also Buchanan lib. xvii. The truth is, Riccio possessed the qualification of making himself agreeable during those intervals when he was always ready to be a party in the harmless games which are the amusement of leisure hours.
- (6) P. 81. The Queen, in her letter to Archbishop Beaton at Paris, narrating the murder, says that the Parliament was

opened on the 7th of March. Mr Tytler assigns the 4th as the correct date.

(7) P. 84. Crawford's Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 9.

(8) P. 85. Archbishop Spottiswoode's History, p. 194.

(9) P. 85. George Douglas is already mentioned as a relative of Darnley. He was commonly known as the *Postulate Bishop of Moray*—the designation of *Postulate* in Scottish phraesology intimating the appointment or nomination of a person to a Bishopric or Abbey, and he was the *Postulate* of the benefice until he obtained full possession. George Douglas was made titular Bishop of Moray in 1573 by his relative the Regent Morton, at the death of Patrick Hepburn, the last consecrated Roman Catholic Bishop of the see. He was an illegitimate son of Archibald sixth Earl of Angus, the father of the Countess of Lennox, Darnley's mother, by Margaret of England, Queen-Dowager of James IV. Mr Tytler (History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 22) designates this person Darnley's *cousin*, but it appears he was the "bastard uncle" of Darnley, and "bastard brother" of his mother. He was titular Bishop of Moray for sixteen years, which fixes his death in 1589, and he was buried in the Abbey Church of Holyrood. — Keith's Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops, 4to. p. 89.

(10) P. 86. If tradition is to be credited, Riccio was murdered at the head of the private staircase, and some large dark stains, purposely kept on the floor, are most pertinaciously declared to be the indelible marks of his blood. This is utterly fabulous, and unworthy of any credit, more especially when it is recollected that this portion of the Palace was completely gutted by fire during the occupation of Holyrood by Cromwell's soldiers.

(11) P. 87. Bedford and Randolph to Cecil, dated Berwick, 27th March 1566, in Wright's "Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth and her Times, a Series of Original Letters," vol. i. p. 233, 234.

(12) P. 87. Knox's Historia, folio, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 392.

(13) P. 88. Buchanan's Historia Rerum Scotticarum, original edit. Edin. 1582, folio 211; Translation, 8vo. Edin. 1752, vol. ii. p. 212.

(14) P. 88. Sir James Balfour's *Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 334. This was the former cemetery of the inhabitants of the Canon-gate adjoining the Chapel-Royal. The *supposed* grave of Riccio is still pointed out in a part of the floor which, by the erection of the Palace, is now the entrance to the Chapel-Royal from the north-east corner of the interior of the quadrangle. A flat stone, with some vestiges of sculpture, is said to cover the remains of the unfortunate Italian. Queen Mary promoted Joseph, a brother of Riccio, who came to Scotland in the suit of Monsieur Malvoiser or Mauvissiere in 1565, to be her private foreign secretary. Joseph Riccio is prominently noticed by Mr Tytler in his "*History of Scotland*" as engaging in various projects to revenge the murder of his brother.

(15) P. 90. Pitcairn's *Crim. Trials*, vol. i. Part II. p. 480-2.

(16) P. 91. Buchanan, in his "*Detection*," malignantly states that Mary at the time was residing in the "*Checker House*," and this false assertion is evidently intended to inculcate her with Bothwell, who was now undeniably her favourite. The records of the Privy Council prove that the Queen was in Holyrood from the 24th of September to the 6th of October, when she went to Jedburgh. Bishop Keith gives the dates from the 23d of September to the 8th of October.

CHAPTER X.

(1) P. 97. THE gunpowder was brought from Bothwell's residence near or within the precincts of Holyrood in boxes on the back of a "*naig*"—(Scottice, *riding horse*), and it was received at the Blackfriars' Wynd in the Cowgate, by his ruffians, who carried it in sacks to the room under Darnley's chamber which had been often occupied by the Queen.

(2) P. 101. Darnley was embowelled and embalmed in Holyrood on the 12th February 1566-7, by the Queen's special command. In the Lord Treasurer's Accounts is the following charge—"To Marten Pitcanit, ypothegar, to mak furnishing of druggis, spicis, and other necessaris for appenyng and perfuming of the Kingis Grace's Majestie's umquhill bodie, L.40;

Item, for colis, tabbis, bardis, barrellis, and utheris-necessaris preparit for bowalling the Kingis Grace, L.2, 6s."

CHAPTER XI.

(1) P. 103. MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, Drury to Cecil, dated Berwick, 28th February 1566-7, in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 91.

(2) P. 106. Craig was "bruited" in the General Assembly on the 30th of December 1567 for proclaiming the banns of Mary and Bothwell, and was ordered to "give in his purgation in writing," which he subsequently produced, and it was unanimously pronounced satisfactory—that he had "done the duty of ane faithful minister."—*Booke of the Universal Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the BANNATTYNE CLUB, 4to. 1839, Part I. p. 114, 115, 144.

(3) P. 106. The authentic contract of the marriage, which was duly registered, and still exists, is printed in Goodall's "Examination of the Letters of Mary Queen of Scots to James Earl of Bothwell," 12mo. Edin. 1754, vol. ii. p. 57-61. It is dated at Edinburgh, 13th May 1567, and is signed MARIE R., JAMES DUNE OF ORKNEY. The witnesses are John Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews, the Earls of Huntly, Crawford, and Rothes, Alexander Gordon, ex-Bishop of Galloway, John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, Lords Fleming and Herries, Secretary Maitland of Lethington, the Lord Justice-Clerk Bellenden, Robert Crichton of Elliock, Lord Advocate, and "divers utheris." The Regent Moray produced two contracts at London, the one written in French and signed by the Queen, and the other dated at Seton House on the 5th of April, signed by the Queen and Bothwell, both of which are considered spurious.

(4) P. 106. This personage, who is subsequently noticed as Commendator of Holyroodhouse, was second son of Francis Bothwell, one of the first fifteen Judges of the Court of Session, by Janet, daughter of Patrick Richardson of Meldrumsheugh. Adam Bothwell was nominated Bishop of Orkney in 1558, the

year before the commencement of the Reformation, after the death of Bishop Reid, appointed an Extraordinary Lord of Session on the 14th of January 1564, and an Ordinary Lord on the 13th of November 1565. He married Margaret, daughter of John Murray of Touchadam, and three sons and one daughter were the alleged issue. The ex-Bishop of Orkney was severely censured by his Reforming friends for his solemnization of the marriage of the Queen and Bothwell. On the 25th of December 1567, it was one of four charges preferred against him in the General Assembly, and he was deposed on the 30th from "all function of the ministrie, conform to the tenor of the act made thereupon, ay and until the Kirk be satisfied of the slander committed by him." He was restored in the General Assembly on the 10th of July 1568, on the condition that on a Sunday, "when he best may for weakness of his body," preach a sermon in the Abbey Church of Holyrood, and at the end confess his offence, desiring at the same time forgiveness of the congregation, which he promised to do.—Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, Part I. pp. 112, 114, 131.

(6) P. 106. A contemporary chronicler, who erroneously asserts that the marriage was performed in the "auld chapel," says that the persons present were the Earls of Huntly (Bothwell's ex-brother-in-law), and Sutherland, Lords Oliphant, Fleming, Livingstone, Glamis, and Boyd, Archbishop Hamilton of St Andrews, Bishop Chisholm of Dunblane, Bishop Lesley of Ross, Lord John Hamilton, Abbot of Aberbrothock, with "certane utheris small gentlemen quha awatit upon the said Duke of Orkney." Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents in Scotland, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 111, 112.

(6) P. 107. Sir James Melville's Memoirs, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 178.

(7) P. 107. It occurs in the Fifth Book of Ovid's Fasti (Opera Ovidii, 4to. 1689, tom. iii. p. 635), and the entire passage is—

"Nec viduæ tædis eadem, nec virginis apta
Tempora; quæ nupsit, non diuturna fuit:
Hac quoque de causa, si te proverbia tangunt,
Mense malas Maio nubere vulgus ait."

This last line was the "proverb" affixed on the gate or porch of Holyrood. The subsequent career of Queen Mary, her surrender at Carberry, her escape from Lochleven Castle, the defeat of her forces at Langside near Glasgow, her flight into England, her long imprisonment and her unhappy fate, are events of absorbing interest in the national history. The present work merely records her connection with Holyroodhouse, and the occurrences which took place there during her unfortunate reign in Scotland. Her whole career was one of infatuation, and her administration of the government among a rude and half-civilized people was a miserable failure. Nor should the blood which she was the cause of shedding by the hand of the executioner and on the field of battle, the melancholy loss of life of which it is admitted Mary was the unintentional origin, and the consequent ruin of many persons of influence, be forgotten in reviewing her extraordinary vicissitudes. And yet extenuating circumstances cannot be overlooked. The Nobility of Scotland at that time were savage, venal, and unprincipled, embarking in any enterprise, plot, or conspiracy, to accomplish their own purposes. Educated from her infancy in the then probably the most licentious and profligate Court in Europe, Mary evinced many instances of unscrupulous conduct—the effects of her tuition. She was a foreigner in the land of her birth; she had been taught in France to shrink at the avowal of the principles which then agitated Europe; her habits and sentiments were utterly at variance with those of her subjects; and the luxury to which she had been accustomed in her youthful years rendered her altogether unprepared for the shock which was inevitably to result from her intercourse with them. Though her youth, beauty, accomplishments, and affability, secured for her many devoted adherents, and her religion attached to her the Roman Catholics of England and Scotland, it may be said of Mary, in the expressive language of Principal Robertson, that when she landed at Leith after an absence of nearly thirteen years she was "a stranger to her subjects, without experience, without allies, and without a friend." The number of books, tracts, and essays, on the life and character of Mary is amazing, and her career and misfortunes will never be forgotten. Even foreigners were

excited by her extraordinary vicissitudes, and in poetry and prose demonstrated that the hapless Queen had attracted the notice of all Europe. Among them was the celebrated Spanish author Lope, or Fray Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, the rival of Cervantes, one of whose earliest acknowledged poetical efforts was his "*Corona Tragica*" on Mary Queen of Scots, which he dedicated to Pope Urban VIII., who wrote him a letter with his own hand, and conferred on him the degree of doctor of theology.

CHAPTER XII.

(1) P. 112. THE former parish church, dedicated to St Cuthbert, on the north-west base of the Castle-rock, now represented by a large barn-like edifice with a spire, and locally known as the *West Kirk*, from its position at the west end of Prince's Street; and the parish church of Libberton, three miles south of Edinburgh, rebuilt in 1815 in an elegant Gothic form with a fine tower.

(2) P. 113. This intimates that the transepts of the edifice, in addition to the choir, were standing in Queen Mary's time, and that the chancel only had been destroyed.

(3) P. 113. Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. 1839, Part I. pp. 163, 167, 168 The first charge against Adam Bothwell, in addition to his retaining the title of Bishop, his continuing a Judge in the Court of Session, and various alleged delinquencies in Shetland and Edinburgh, was, that "of late he had made a simoniacal change of the same with the Abbacie of Halyrudhouse," and the third was, that he had secured the thirds of the benefice without consent of the Assembly, from Lord Robert Stuart and his "bairns," having also leased the lands of Broughton, then near Edinburgh, to his wife for nineteen years. To the first charge he answered by denying that he had ever demitted his episcopal function, or any part thereof, connected with the temporalities of the Bishopric of Orkney, to Lord Robert Stuart; and that "the said Lord Robert violently intruded

himself in his whole living, with bloodshed and hurt of his servants; and after he had craved justice, his and his servants' lives were sought in the very eyes of justice in Edinburgh; and then was he constrained for mere necessity to take the Abbacy of Halvudhouse by advice of sundry godly men." He justified his transaction with Lord Robert Stuart as legal, and "permitted universally throughout the whole realm, that any ecclesiastical person may set a portion of his benefice in tack for the yearly payment of a just duty, so there is nothing bought or sold in defraud of ministers;" also, that "the whole thirds of the benefice of Halvudhouse are to be paid forth either to the collectors of the Kirk or to the Lord Robert's bairns." In short, he alleged that he had been a loser instead of a gainer by the transaction; and that, nevertheless, he had acted most liberally in paying the ministers' stipends "as they were wont to receive forth of the said Abbey," and had augmented those of others, which he would increase when a plea in the Court of Session was decided.

(4) P. 114. *Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston*, by Mark Napier, Esq., 4to. Edin. 1834, pp. 122, 123.

(5) P. 114. This Peerage became extinct at the death, in the Canongate in 1755, of Henry Bothwell, designated Lord Holyroodhouse, descended from William, third son of the ex-Bishop Bothwell. This Henry Bothwell petitioned George II. to be allowed the style and dignity of Lord Holyroodhouse, and it was referred to the House of Lords in March 1734. No further proceedings were instituted. The title, however, was not recognised long before the Union, and seems to have become dormant at the death of John, second lord, in 1635, who succeeded his father, to whom he was served heir in 1629, in November 1609. At the time of the Union the title was claimed by Alexander Bothwell, father of the above-mentioned Henry Bothwell, but it is not on the Union Roll of the Peers of Scotland in 1707.

(6) P. 115. The King, who undertook this matrimonial expedition to show, he said, that he was not to be "led about

by his Chancellor by the nose like an ass or a bairn," arrived in Leith roadstead on the 1st of May; but he was compelled to remain on board till the 6th, while the Palace of Holyrood was in preparation for his reception. It is surprising that he did not instantly land, as he had been sorely beset by the incantation of witches, who tried to drown him, and who all declared that he would "never have come safely from the sea had not his faith prevailed over their cantrips." Their superstitious traffickings to drown James VI., and their intercourse with the turbulent Earl of Bothwell to effect that project, are noticed in the History of Edinburgh Castle in the present Work. They were more successful, however, with a boat from Burntisland to Leith, conveying a variety of presents to the young Queen, which they are accused of sinking by the agency of a *christened cat*, and all on board perished.

(7) P. 116. Birrel's Diary, p. 25.

(8) P. 117. Sir James Balfour (*Annales of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 389) and Birrel (*Diary*, p. 26) date this adventure as occurring on the *27th of September*; but in the summons of treason against Bothwell and his associates, Gilbert Pennycook, John Rutherford of Hunthill, his son Thomas Rutherford, and Simon Armstrong, younger of Whitehaugh, on the 21st of July 1593, the outrage is expressly stated to have occurred on the *27th of December*.—Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. i. Part II. pp. 294, 295, 296.

(9) P. 117. Sir James Melville's account of this affair is a curious illustration of the internal condition of Holyrood at the time.—"At their first entry within the Palace I was sitting at supper with my Lord Duke of Lennox, who incontinently took his sword and pressed forth, but he had no company, and the place was already full of enemies. We were compelled to fortify the doors and stairs with tables, forms, and stools, and be spectators of that strange hurly-burly for the space of an hour, beholding with torch-light forth of the Duke's gallery their reeling, their rumbling with halberts, the clacking of their culverins and pistols, the dunting o mells and hammers,

and their crying for justice. There was a passage betwixt the Chancellor's chamber and my Lord Duke's by a stair, and during the fray the Chancellor came up the said stair, and desired entry into my Lord Duke's chamber. My Lord Duke by my advice desired him to cause his men to hold out at the nether door as long as they might, and offered to receive himself within the chamber, which the Chancellor took in evil part, and suspected my Lord Duke, and so returned to his chamber, and defended himself the best way he could. As soon as my Lord Duke saw a company of friends within the close, he went forth to pursue the Earl of Bothwell and his company; but the night was dark, and they took themselves speedily to their horses and escaped. They being retired, we got entry to her Majesty's chamber, whither the King was for the time come down, where his Majesty discoursed with me a good space concerning this terrible attempt, and of his many hard misfortunes."

(10) P. 122. Birrel's Diary, p. 46, 47.

CHAPTER XIII.

(1) P. 123. Sir Robert Carey was fourth son of Henry first Lord Hunsdon, and was created Baron Carey by letters-patent, 5th February 1625-6. His "Memoirs," written by himself, contain many curious particulars of the Court of James VI. after his accession to the English crown, and he left an account of the death of Queen Elizabeth, whom he visited in her last illness, when she took him by the hand, and wringing it, she replied to his wish that her health would be restored—"No, Robin, I am not well;" and he says she fetched no fewer than forty or fifty deep sighs, which assured him that she was near her dissolution. He candidly states, as his resolution to secure the favour of James VI.—"I could not but think in what a wretched state I should be left, most of my livelihood depending on her (Elizabeth's) life; and hereupon I bethought myself with what grace and favour I was ever received of the King of Scots, whensoever I was sent to him."

(2) P. 124. Erroneously designated *Lord Abbot and Bishop of Halyrudehouse* in the English accounts of the accession of James VI. He was the eldest son of Adam Bothwell, ex-Bishop of Orkney, accompanied the King to England, and was created Lord Holyroodhouse in 1607.

(3) P. 125. Birrel's Diary, p. 59, 60.

(4) P. 126. The Earl Dunfermline to James I., dated Edinburgh, 23d December 1617, in the "*Melros Papers*," printed for the *ABBOTSFORD CLUB*, 4to. vol. i. p. 298.

(5) P. 127. A *trance* in Scotland is a passage in a house leading to and from a staircase.

(6) P. 127. The Progresses of King James I., by John Nichols, F. S. A., vol. iii. p. 308; *Melros Papers*, printed for the *ABBOTSFORD CLUB*—Lord Binning to James I., dated Edinburgh, 3d May 1617, vol. i. p. 291, 292.

(7) P. 128. *Melros Papers*, printed for the *ABBOTSFORD CLUB*, vol. i. p. 299. It seems that two of the vessels narrowly escaped shipwreck during the voyage from London. Lord Binning, in a letter to the King, dated Edinburgh, 3d May 1617, says—"All your Maiestie's stuffs are now arryued, praised be God, without skaith, bot not without danger. Vpon Fryday the 27 of Apryle, one of your Maiestie's schippes, laidned with the most of your precious furnitour, wes forced to saill without ane anker and ane cabill; and vpon Thurisdai last ane bark carieng aboue the value of twentie thousand pundes, wes constrained to hew her mast, and is now saif in Leith harborie."—*Melros Papers*, vol. i. pp. 291, 292.

(8) P. 128. Sir Gideon Murray's prudent management of the public revenue, which prevented James from any expense during his visit to Scotland, must have been peculiarly acceptable to the King, whose constant extravagance, and the demands habitually made upon him for pecuniary assistance by his favourite Buckingham, had rendered a retrenchment of the royal household necessary. Before his departure for Scotland the King had appointed commissioners for that purpose; and

on the 12th of November 1617, he sent a kind of reproof to the Lords of the Treasury (Letters of the Kings of England, edited by J. O. Halliwell, Esq., 8vo. Lond. 1846, vol. ii. p. 146). As it respects Sir Gideon Murray, whose grandfather, Andrew Murray of Blackbarony in Peeblesshire, was killed at Flodden, the King duly appreciated his services; nevertheless he was induced by James Lord Ochiltree to credit a charge against Sir Gideon of mal-practices connected with the office of Treasurer-Depute. Sir Gideon, when in England, was taken into custody, sent to Scotland as a prisoner, and the day for his trial was appointed. It is stated, that "he took this so much to heart that he abstained from food for several days, and he died on the 28th of June 1621, after he had kept his house twenty days or thereby, stupified and silent, or at least speaking little or to no purpose."—Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, edited by Wood, fol. vol. i. p. 526. Sir Gideon is prominent in a ludicrous story of the compulsory marriage of Sir William Scott of Harden, eldest son of the celebrated heroine of song, Mary Scott, the "Flower of Yarrow," to his daughter, who was known by the ungallant soubriquet of *Muckle-mouthed Meg*, related by their descendant, Sir Walter Scott, Bart., in his "Border Antiquities," vol. ii. p. 158, 159. Scott of Harden, whose principal residence was Oakwood Tower, a Border strength on the Etterick river, had a feud with the Murrays of Elibank, and sent his son William, afterwards Sir William of Harden, to conduct a foray on their property, but he was defeated, and taken prisoner in the act of driving off the cattle. The young heir of Harden was conducted to Elibank Tower, on the north bank of the Tweed, upwards of twelve miles from the town of Peebles, by Sir Gideon, who, in answer to his Lady, who asked what he intended to do to young Harden, declared that he had resolved to hang him. "Hoot na, Sir Gideon," exclaimed the lady in her vernacular idiom; "would you hang the winsome young Laird of Harden when ye have three ill-favoured daughters to marry?" "Right," answered Sir Gideon, "he shall either marry our daughter, Muckle-mouthed Meg, or strap for it." Young Harden at first stoutly preferred the "strapping" or hanging, to "Muckle-mouthed Meg," but when led out to execution he retracted his

resolution. Whatever was the personal deformity of the lady, which procured for her the soubriquet, she proved an excellent wife to Scott of Harden, by whom she had a large family. Such is the family tradition often mentioned on the Borders, but if we are to credit authentic accounts, Sir Gideon's daughter whom Scott of Harden married was named *Agnes*, not *Meg*, the well known familiar abbreviation of *Margaret*, and only one daughter is mentioned in the Peerage narratives.

(9) P. 129. The intended speech of the bard of Hawthornden is in the "Progresses of King James the First," by Nichols, vol. iii. p. 318, 319. It is a curious specimen of adulation.

(10) P. 129. This Discourse, which is on St Luke iv. 18, 19, is the tenth in the folio volume of the "XCVI Sermons" of Bishop Andrewes, and is on the "Sending of the Holy Spirit."

CHAPTER XIV.

(1) P. 132. ACTA Parl. Scot. folio, vol. v. Appendix, p. 208, 237, 239-244.

(2) P. 132. Sir James Balfour, then Lord Lyon-King-at-Arms, whose duty it was to superintend the procession, has preserved an account of this public entry of Charles I. into Edinburgh, which is printed in his "Annales of Scotland," vol. ii. p. 196, 197, 198, vol. iv. p. 354, 355, 356.

(3) P. 134. The order or arrangement of the procession from Edinburgh Castle to Holyroodhouse is given by Sir James Balfour in his quaint narrative of the coronation of Charles I—Annales of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 386.

(4) P. 140. Sir James Balfour states, that when the ceremonial was concluded, and the King moved from the platform to enter the Palace, gold and silver pieces were thrown among the spectators by the Bishop of Moray, who acted as Lord Almoner. This coin represented the King's profile in his coronation robes on one side, with the inscription CAROLUS DEI GRATIA SOTIA, ANGL. FRANC. ET HYB. REX, CORONAT 18 JUNII 1633; and on the

reverse a thistle flowered in three large stems, with small branches issuing from it, and the words—*HINC NOSTRÆ, CREVERE ROSÆ.*—The “Memorable and Solemne Coronatione of King Charles, crowned King of Scotland at Holyrudhousse, the 18th of June 1633, in “*Annales of Scotland*,” vol. iv. p. 403. Our Lord Lyon observes—“Because this was the most glorious and magnifique coronation that ever was seene in this Kingdome, and the first King of Great Britain that ever was crowned in Scotland, many strangers of great qualitie resorted hither from divers countries to behold these triumphs and ceremonies.” It is appropriately stated by the editor of Sir James Balfour’s “*Annales*,” that the account by the latter of the Coronation of Charles I., independently of being the fullest and most curious of any that has been transmitted to us, is the more entitled to our regard, as the solemnity happened at a period when the monarch was a free agent, and the aspect of public affairs was calm and unclouded, and not distracted by the dissensions and troubles that attended the subsequent coronation of Charles II. (at Scone), when that Prince was little better than a captive in the hands of a rebellious and overbearing faction. On this account the former must now, strictly speaking, be regarded as the last regular and legitimate ceremonial of the kind, and, combined with the relative deeds already given, must necessarily serve as the last precedent to determine the claims of those who may think themselves entitled to figure at a British Coronation, which, it cannot be disputed, is as much a Scottish as an English one. It may be only farther remarked that no other account of the most gorgeous and magnificent ceremonials in our history, and which reflects so much credit on the professional exertions of the Lord Lyon, is known anywhere to exist, and the only copy of it, in the handwriting of Mylne the Antiquarian, is in the charter-chest of Lord Douglas.”

(5) P. 141. An anecdote is recorded of the Lord Chancellor Kinnoull, in reference to an incident which occurred on the morning of the coronation day. The King sent Sir James Balfour with a message to the Lord Chancellor, signifying his pleasure that the Archbishop of St Andrews should precede his

Lordship only at the ceremony of that day. Kinnoull returned this "briak and resolute answer," that "since his Majesty had been pleased to continue him in that office which by his means his worthy father of happy memory had conferred on him, he was ready in all humility to lay it his Majesty's feet; but since it was his royal will he should enjoy it with the known privileges pertaining to the office, never a st—d priest in Scotland should set a foot before him as long as his blood was hot." Sir James Balfour reported the Chancellor's answer to the King, who merely observed—"Well, then, Lyon, let us go to business. I will meddle no farther with that old cankered goutish man, at whose hands nothing is to be gained but sour words."—Crawford's *Lives of the Officers of the Crown and of State in Scotland*, folio, p. 159.

(6) P. 141. Sir James Balfour's *Annales*, vol. ii. p. 202, 203, 204.

(7) P. 141. Archbishop Laud officiated several times in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood during the King's visit. On the 15th of June he was sworn a Privy Councillor of Scotland.

CHAPTER XV.

(1) P. 147. CHARLES LEWIS, the son of the Elector Frederick V., who married the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I. The "Palatinate" consisted formerly of two States in Germany of this name, which till 1620 were under one sovereign, and, though not contiguous, were designated the Upper and Lower Palatinate, which latter was also known as the County Palatinate of the Rhine, or the Palatinate of the Rhine. Both countries, and their dependent principalities, were united under one sovereign till 1620, when the Elector Frederick V., who had been induced to accept the crown of Bohemia, was defeated near Prague, when he was declared under the ban of the Empire and deprived of his electoral dignity and his dominions, which were assigned by his cousin Ferdinand II. to Bavaria. Charles Lewis, who accompanied his uncle Charles I. to Edin-

burgh in 1641, recovered the Lower Palatinate by the Treaty of Westphalia, with a new electoral dignity, and the distinction of Hereditary Treasurer.

(2) P. 148. Archbishop of Glasgow after the Restoration till his death in November 1663. Archbishop Fairfoull was interred on the 11th of that month in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood. The following Covenanters preached before Charles I. in the Chapel-Royal during his residence in the Palace—

Sunday, September 12, Mr Robert Knox from Kelso, forenoon; Mr George Gillespie from Wemyss, afternoon.

19. Mr Peter Ewart, forenoon; Mr James Bonar, afternoon.

29. Dr William Guild from Aberdeen, forenoon; Mr Frederick Carmichael from Markinch, afternoon.

October 3. Mr Thomas Mitchell from Torry, forenoon; Mr Henry Guthrie from Stirling (in 1664 consecrated Bishop of Dunkeld), afternoon.

10. Mr Robert Blair from St Andrews, forenoon; Mr Andrew Auchinleck from Largo, afternoon.

17. Mr Andrew Ramsay, forenoon; Mr James Reid from St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, afternoon.

24. Mr Alexander Henderson, forenoon; Mr Samuel Austin from Penpont, afternoon.

31. Mr Henry Pollock, forenoon; Mr Matthew Wemyss, afternoon.

November 7. Mr William Bennet, forenoon; Mr William Erskine, described as the illegitimate son of the Earl of Mar, afternoon.

14. Mr Alexander Henderson, forenoon; Mr George Gillespie, afternoon.—Sir James Balfour's *Annales of Scotland*, vol. iii.

(3) P. 148. The Earl of Argyll was created a Marquis, General Leslie was created Earl of Leven, and four Covenanters were knighted, to the great disgust of the royalists.

(4) P. 149. Before Charles I. left Edinburgh he was officially informed of the Irish Rebellion. It is traditionally said that when told of it he was witnessing, if not playing, the game of golf on Leith Links, and the spot on which he stood is still

pointed out on the east side of the Links, near the present toll-bar at the road leading to the villas of Summerfield and the decayed hamlet of Restalrig. The King, it is added, immediately returned to Holyrood in a state of intense mental excitement.

(5) P. 150. Nicoll's Diary, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. p. 35. This local writer afterwards added, in reference to the conflagration of the Palace on the 13th of November 1650, while occupied by Cromwell's soldiers — "*except a lytill*," which means that the walls of the north-west tower escaped uninjured, though every thing in the edifice was consumed. Nicoll states that Cromwell ordered the Palace to be renovated. In his Diary, dated December 1658, he says — "It is formerlie observit, that upone the 13 day of November 1650 yeires, the Abay of Halyrudhous wes set on fyre. It wes the Protector's plesure, I mean Oliver Lord Protector, to gif ordour to repair the same to the full integritie, and so it wes that in this yeir of God 1658 great provision wes maid for that effect; timber, stanes, and all uthir materiallis, wes provydit, and the wark begun the same yeir of God 1658. Quhat salbe the end of this wark and fabric it salbe observit in the awin place." In March 1659 Nicoll records the progress of the erection — "The wark begun at Halyrudhous for repairing thair of prosperit daylie; numbers of maisons, carpentaris, warkmen, and utheris, wer daylie put to wark for repairing of it." In September 1659 he writes — "The hole fore wark of the Abay of Halyrudhous wes compleitlie biggit up and repairit in the timber and stone wark thair of;" and he subsequently adds — "It wes perfytit in the end of November 1659." Every vestige of the Palace replaced or repaired by Cromwell has disappeared.

(6) P. 150. Nicoll's Diary, p. 81.

CHAPTER XVI.

(1) P. 152. NICOLL'S DIARY, p. 365, 366. Nicoll writes as if he had been an eye-witness of this consecration in the Chapel-Royal.

(2) P. 153. See the note to Chapter III. On the interior of the north-west pillar of the piazza in the quadrangle are sculptured in large letters the words—"FUND. BE ROBERT MILNE, M. M. 1671." The initials M. M. set forth that he was "Master Mason" to the King.

(3) P. 153. A memorial of the residence of the future Queen Anne at Holyrood is a "Sermon preached in Holyroodhouse, January 30, 1681-2, before her Highness the Lady Anne, by Thomas Cartwright, D.D., Dean of Ripon, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty. Edinburgh, printed for David Lindsay, and reprinted at London, and sold by Walter Davis, 1682." The text is Acts vii. 60. The day was the commemoration of the murder of Charles I.

(4) P. 154. The sum adjudicated to the Earl of Haddington, as compensation for relinquishing his office of Hereditary Keeper of Holyrood Parks, was fixed by the arbitration of David Low, Esq., Professor of Agriculture in the University of Edinburgh, and Thomas Oliver, Esq., Lochend, near Restalrig, the eminent agriculturist, assisted by Richard Trotter, Esq. of Mortonhall.

CHAPTER XVII.

(1) P. 157. THIS outrage was intended to be perpetrated on the evening of Sunday, and was only frustrated by Sir Magnus Prince, then Lord Provost, who ordered the city gates to be locked, and concealed the keys, which prevented the rabble from any access to the Canongate that night. As an attack on the Palace was anticipated, the Duke of Gordon and the Earl of Perth sent instructions to Captain Wallace, who is described as a man of "inflexible loyalty and courage," to place his men in the windows of the Chapel-Royal, in those of Queen Mary's and the Duke of Hamilton's apartments, and on each side of the grand entrance into the quadrangle. On the 16th the Duke of Gordon went to the precincts of Holyrood to confer with the Earl of Perth, and advised him to return with him to the Castle; but the Earl preferred leaving the city altogether,

and set out for his seat of Drummond Castle, on his journey to which, while crossing the Frith of Forth, he was intercepted by a party from Kirkcaldy, who carried him a prisoner to that town, and sent him to Stirling Castle. Some hours after the Earl's departure the rioters assembled on a field without the then city walls, entered the Canongate, and proceeded to Holyrood, where they found Captain Wallace and his men drawn up in front of the Palace, instead of stationing themselves in the windows as previously arranged. The rioters commenced the attack, and Captain Wallace threw some hand-grenades among them, killing and wounding several, which caused them to disperse. A quorum of the Privy Council were at the time assembled at no great distance, and they sent an order to Captain Graham, who commanded a party in the city, to compel Captain Wallace to surrender, that the rioters might be indulged in their destructive propensities towards the Chapel-Royal and the private chapel in the Palace. Wallace was overpowered, and was soon afterwards imprisoned. Property to the value of two thousand crowns and upwards was destroyed.—Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh in 1689, 4to. 1828, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 16-19.

(2) P. 158. The principal ringleaders in this storming of the Palace of Holyrood were, according to the Earl of Balcarras, "Sir James Montgomery Houston, Greenock, Mochrum, Mr William Lockhart, Riccarton, Drummond, William Drummond, clerk to the artillery, Murray of Livingstone, and Swinton Lord Mersington," the "fanatick judge, with a halbert in his hand, as drunk as ale and brandy could make him; next, the Provost and Magistrates, with a mob of two or three thousand men. Captain Wallace had certainly been able to defend the house if he had kept his men within the court, and fired out at the windows."—The Earl of Balcarras' Account of the Affairs of Scotland, in the Appendix to the "Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh in 1689," printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 95, 96.

(3) P. 159. Arnot's Hist. of Edinburgh, 4to. 1779, p. 617-18.

(4) P. 159. The Scots Magazine for 1768, p. 667.

(5) P. 160. Arnot, in his History of Edinburgh, p. 255.

(6) P. 160. George Wishart, who was consecrated Bishop of Edinburgh after the restoration of Charles II., and died in 1671, is said to have been of the family of Wishart of Logie in Forfarshire, though he was born in Haddingtonshire in 1609. Before the Scottish rebellion against Charles I. he was one of the ministers of St Andrews in Fife, and in 1639 was deposed with his colleague by the General Assembly for refusing to subscribe the Solemn League and Covenant. For corresponding with the supporters of Charles I. he was plundered by the Covenanters of all his property, and thrown into a dungeon called the *Thief's Hole*, the most repulsive apartment in that vilest of all prisons, long a disgrace to humanity, the Old Tolbooth of Edinburgh. Bishop Wishart states that for his attachment to the loyal cause and to Episcopacy he thrice suffered spoliation, imprisonment, and exile before 1647. The victorious career of the Marquis of Montrose, who was then approaching Edinburgh in triumph, induced the terrified citizens to send a deputation of their royalist prisoners to implore his clemency, one of whom was Bishop Wishart, who remained with him as his chaplain during the campaign, and in that capacity accompanied him abroad. He published at Paris in elegant Latin his narrative of the extraordinary adventures of Montrose, to vindicate, as he says in his modest preface, the great Marquis from the aspersions of his enemies, to clear him from the charges of cruelty and irreligion preferred against him by the Covenanters, and to place the real character of his patron before the world. In this Bishop Wishart was eminently successful; and while Montrose was assailed by the Covenanters in Scotland with the most opprobrious epithets, the "Memoirs" of the great Marquis obtained for that nobleman such a reputation on the Continent that the narrative was repeatedly printed, and read with enthusiastic admiration. The Covenanters evinced their detestation of the book by suspending from the neck of Montrose at his execution a copy of the abhorred volume. Wodrow mentions Bishop Wishart as a man who could not refrain from profane swearing on the public street, and who was a "known drunkard;" but it is well observed that "few statements are of less value than the Presbyterian traditions of the seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries respecting the manners of the opposite party." It is recorded of Wishart, when Bishop of Edinburgh, that after the suppression of the Covenanting "rising" at Rullion Green on the base of the Pentland Hills, he exerted his influence to obtain mercy for the captive insurgents; and, recollecting his own distresses in the prison they occupied, he never partook of any repast before he sent the first dish to those unfortunate and deluded fanatics, who would nevertheless have murdered him if it had been in their power.

(7) P. 160. Lady Jane Douglas died at Edinburgh, in November 1753, in most humble circumstances, considering her high rank and distinguished family connections. She is celebrated in the legal annals of Scotland on account of the "Douglas Cause," which excited the most intense sensation. Lady Jane was one of the handsomest and most accomplished women of her time, but unfortunately her happiness was frustrated by the interruption in early life of a projected union with Francis Earl of Dalkeith, afterwards second Duke of Buccleuch. Her Ladyship subsequently had several suitors, but she rejected every offer of marriage till 1746, when in August that year she secretly espoused Mr Stewart, afterwards Sir John Stewart of Grandtully, Bart. Her Ladyship was then forty-eight years of age, and her husband, who was then a younger brother of no fortune, had no profession or resources to maintain her in any degree suitable to her position in society. Their whole income consisted of an annual allowance of L.300 to Lady Jane by her brother the Duke of Douglas, with whom she was at the time of her marriage on bad terms. This misunderstanding with the Duke was the reason subsequently assigned by Lady Jane for keeping her marriage secret, and the more effectually to conceal it she and her husband went abroad immediately after the ceremony. They returned to London in 1749 with two male infants, of whom Lady Jane had been delivered in Paris at a twin birth in the month of July 1748. Sir John Stewart's pecuniary affairs were in so deplorable a state, that by some means or other the Government assigned to Lady Jane a pension of L.300 per annum. In 1752 her Ladyship came to Scotland, and in vain attempted a reconciliation with

her brother, who refused even to see her. She returned to London, leaving the children at Edinburgh under the charge of a female who had formerly accompanied her and her husband as a servant to the Continent. The younger twin brother, who was named Sholto Thomas Stewart, died on the 14th of March 1753, and this bereavement greatly affected Lady Jane, who hastened to Edinburgh, and again unsuccessfully attempted to be reconciled to the Duke. Her health was now gone, and she died at Edinburgh in November that year, and was interred in the north-west tower called the "Vestry," leaving Archibald, the surviving twin son, who at the termination of the "Douglas Cause" in the House of Peers in 1769, when the decision of the Court of Session in 1767 was reversed, was declared to be the lawful son of Lady Jane, and heir of the Duke of Douglas. In 1796 Mr Stewart, or Douglas, was created a Peer of Great Britain by the title of Lord Douglas of Douglas. In the Court of Session Lords Kames, Gardenstone, and Monboddo, were among the Judges who decided for Mr Douglas, and Lord Hailes for the Duke of Hamilton. The Peers who opposed the final judgment in the House of Lords were the Duke of Bedford, the Earls of Sandwich, Bristol, and Dunmore, and Lord Milton.

(8) P. 160. William seventeenth Earl of Sutherland, only son of William sixteenth Earl, born in 1733, succeeded his father in 1750. His Lordship married at Edinburgh, in 1761, Mary, elder daughter and co-heiress of William Maxwell of Prestoun in Kirkcudbrightshire, and sister of Willielma, who married John, Viscount Glenorchy, son of John third Earl of Breadalbane, and who founded the Chapel known by her name at the foot of Leith Wynd, removed in 1846 to provide accommodation for the warehouses of the North British Railway, near the North Bridge terminus. The Earl of Sutherland died at Bath in the thirty-second year of his age on the 16th of June 1766, and his Countess survived him only sixteen days. They were interred in the same grave in the Chapel-Royal on the 9th of August. Two daughters were the offspring of the marriage, and the death of the Earl was accelerated by the loss of the elder daughter Lady

Catherine when only one year and seven months old. It is said that the Earl, who was a most affectionate father, occasionally amused himself by tossing the child upwards, and catching her in his arms as she fell. On this occasion he unfortunately missed his hold, and the infant fell on the floor, receiving injuries which caused her death. The Earl never recovered this bereavement of which he was the unfortunate cause, and he may be said to have died of fever and a broken heart. The Countess fell a victim to her assiduous attentions to the Earl, whom she watched for twenty-one days and nights without leaving him or retiring to bed. The surviving daughter Lady Elizabeth, born at Leven Lodge, near Bruntsfield Links, Edinburgh, in 1765, married in 1785 George Viscount Trentham, who succeeded his father in 1803 as second Marquis of Stafford, and was created Duke of Sutherland in the Peerage of the United Kingdom in 1833. This Lady, who died in 1839, and was succeeded by her eldest son as Earl of Sutherland in the Peerage of Scotland, was Countess of Sutherland in her own right, and after the creation of the Dukedom was commonly designated the "Duchess-Countess."

(9) P. 160. The following mortuary tombstones in the Chapel-Royal may be here enumerated. A flag between the two columns in the north aisle is to the memory of the "nobil and potent Lord James Douglas, Lord of Carlell and Torthorwald, wha married Dame Elizabeth Carlell, air and heritrix thair of, wha was slaine in Edinburghe the xiiii day of July, in the zear of God 1608, in his 48 yeir," with his initials L(ord) J. D. and those of his Lady, E. C. This Lord Douglas, as he is designated, for he was not a Peer, but merely a territorial baron, was Sir James Douglas of Parkhead, who married Elizabeth Carlyle, only daughter of William Master of Carlyle, son of Michael fourth and last Lord. Sir James Douglas killed, in 1596, Captain James Stewart, Earl of Arran and Lord Chancellor of Scotland, one of James VI.'s most unprincipled favourites, in revenge for that person's vigorous procedure against his uncle the Regent Morton, whom he caused to be executed as one of the murderers of Lord Darnley, or as guilty of "counsel, concealing, art and part, of

King Henry's murder." The impeachment of the Earl of Morton occurred within the Palace of Holyrood on the 31st of December 1580, at a meeting of the Privy Council in the presence of the King, when the so called Earl of Arran fell on his knees, and accused the ex-Regent as one of those who had conspired the death of the King's father—a charge undoubtedly true; though Stewart was the last person who ought to have interfered in a matter in which several noblemen of high rank were as deeply implicated as Morton. Captain William Stewart, a nephew of this Earl of Arran, met Sir James Douglas on the High Street of Edinburgh on the 31st of July 1608, drew his sword, and ran him through the body, leaving him dead on the street without uttering a word.—Sir William Anstruther, Bart., a Lord of Session and Justiciary, and Master of the Household to Queen Anne, is interred in the Chapel-Royal. This gentleman published a volume in 1701, entitled "*Essays Moral and Divine*," of which his friends were so much ashamed that they purchased the whole impression to prevent its circulation; but the author, concluding from the demand for his work that the public were pleased with his book, immediately produced a second edition. An amusing "Letter from the Ghost of Sir William Anstruther of that Ilk, once Senator of the College of Justice, to the Lords of Session and Commissioners of Justiciary," dated "Elysium Fields, 27th January 1711," is preserved in the "*Analecta Scotica*," in which are delineated the mal-practices of the highest legal functionaries of the time.—Hamilton of Bangour, a Scottish poet of celebrity in his day, descended from an ancient and honourable Scottish family, is interred in the Chapel-Royal. He was born in 1704, and died at Lyons 1754. The "*Braes of Yarrow*," and his other beautiful ballads, appeared in the first collection of his Poems printed in Glasgow in 1748. He appears to have resided chiefly in Edinburgh, from the allusions in his Poems to celebrated contemporary beauties and persons of rank.—The remains of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, Bart., who closed a long, useful, and honourable career on the 21st of December 1835, in the 81st year of his age, and of his second Lady, the Hon. Diana Macdonald, daughter of Alexander first Lord Macdonald in the Peerage of Ireland, who

survived him till April 1845, are indicated by a plain tomb towards the east end of the Chapel-Royal. The aisles of the ruinous edifice are floored with sculptured gravestones, many of which cover the ashes of the opulent burgesses of the Canongate when the Chapel-Royal was their parish church, though several are evidently of an earlier date, from the carved crosses, in some instances of a complex form, which may record the decease of members of the Monastery. The Duke of Hamilton, as Hereditary Keeper of the Palace, can confer the privilege of interment in the Chapel-Royal, the duties connected with which are intrusted to an officer of the Crown, holding under the Privy Seal the situation of "Beadle and Keeper of the Chapel-Royal," with a salary of L.20 per annum.

(10) P. 160. Sir Robert Douglas of Spott in the county of Haddington, son of Malcolm Douglas of Mains in the county of Dunbarton, a descendant, according to the Peerage lists, of Nicol Douglas of the Noble Family of Morton. He was Page of Honour to Henry, Prince of Wales, eldest son of James I., afterwards his Master of the Horse, one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber to James I., and also to Charles I., by whom he was appointed Master of the Household, and nominated a Privy Councillor. Sir Robert Douglas was created a Peer of Scotland by the title of Viscount Belhaven to himself and the heirs-male of his body on the 24th of June 1633. He died at Edinburgh on the 14th of January 1639, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and the monument over his remains in the Chapel-Royal was erected by his nephews and heirs, Sir Archibald and Sir Robert Douglas. Bishop Burnet relates an anecdote of this first and only Viscount Belhaven on the authority of Sir Archibald Primrose, father of the first Earl of Rosebery. It is connected with Charles I.'s revocation of the teinds (tithes) in Scotland in 1629, and illustrates the dangerous, lawless, and violent conduct of the Scottish Nobility in reference to that and other affairs. Sir Robert Douglas of Spott attended the conference held in Edinburgh to adjust the matter, the arrangement of which had been deputed by Charles I. to the Earl of Nithsdale. At a secret meeting of the Barons and the leaders of the Presbyterian party,

it was settled that when the Earl appeared with his commission for the resumption of the Church lands and tithes, his "brains were to be knocked out after the good old Scottish manner" if he did not retire, and his supporters were to be murdered. One of those adherents was the first Viscount Ayr, created Earl of Dumfries in 1633. The future Viscount Belhaven, then blind, was as ferocious against the resumption of the Church lands as any of the others, and attended the conference. He resolved to sit close to one of the Earl of Nithsdale's party, of whom, notwithstanding his blindness, he said that he would *make sure*. He was placed beside Viscount Ayr, whom he firmly grasped by the hand during the meeting. When the Viscount asked him the meaning of this extraordinary civility, Belhaven replied that his want of sight had made him apprehensive of falling from his seat, and he was obliged to hold fast to any who happened to be next him. His other hand, however, grasped a dagger, with which he intended to stab the Viscount if any discussion occurred. The subsequent Lords or Barons Belhaven in the Peerage of Scotland—a branch of the Noble family of Hamilton—had no relationship to this Viscount Belhaven, who married Nicolas, eldest daughter of Robert Moray of Abercairney. One child, who died an infant, was the offspring of this marriage, and the lady died in 1612, having never recovered the birth of the infant. She was interred in the Savoy Chapel in the Strand, Westminster, where a monument, surmounted by a recumbent figure of her husband, was erected to her memory, with a long Latin inscription, which is inserted by Stow in his "Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster" (vol. ii. p. 108). Engravings of Viscount Belhaven and his Lady may be seen in Pinkerton's "Iconographia Scotica."

(11) P. 161. It is stated that the forces of Prince Charles Edward "were encamped for more than a month to the east of Wester Duddingstone, on the level plain by the burn side which now forms part of the enclosures of the pleasure-grounds of Duddingstone House, both before and after he defeated General Cope at Preston. The house in the village, belonging at that time to a Mr Horn, a farmer, is still standing, and inhabited,

where the Prince slept the night previous to the battle."—*New Statistical Account of Scotland—Edinburghshire*, p. 386. This house, which is on the east side of the road through the village, is now provided with a slate roof instead of its former one of thatch as when occupied by the Prince. It is of two storeys, and in 1847 was a public house and the village post-office. The mansion of Duddingstone House, a fine seat of the Marquis of Abercorn, was erected in 1768, after a design by Sir William Chambers, by James eighth Earl of Abercorn, who laid out and planted the "policy" or pleasure-grounds. The mansion, offices, and planting of the domain cost the Earl about £30,000.—*New Statistical Account of Scotland—Edinburghshire*, p. 390.

(12) P. 161. After the first departure of the Count D'Artois, the Duchess de Grammont, a near relation of the Bourbon Family, and connected with most of the royal houses of Europe, died in the Palace of Holyrood in 1803. This illustrious lady was one of the exiles of the French Revolution who had accompanied the Count to Holyrood, and she continued to reside there till her death, which occurred on the 30th of May. The Duchess was interred by torch-light in the royal vault, and her remains lay in that repulsive dungeon till after the accession of Charles X., who ordered the French sloop of war *L'Actif* to Scotland, to convey the body to France. The Government requested the Magistrates of Edinburgh to assist at the solemnities of the exhumation and removal of the deceased. The principal officer of the Exchequer, Sir Patrick Walker, Usher of the White Rod, and a gentleman on the part of the Duke of Hamilton, also attended. The chief mourner was Count Demidoff, a Russian nobleman related to the Duchess. The officers of *L'Actif* were in waiting at Newhaven to receive the body, which was embarked in an Admiralty barge, and conveyed to the vessel in the roadstead of Leith. Every mark of respect was paid to the remains of the distinguished exiled lady, and the expense was defrayed by the Duke of Hamilton, which was honourably acknowledged by the Duke de Grammont in a letter to his Grace. The inscription on the coffin, which was of oak, superbly decorated with rich velvet covering and golden orna-

ments, was simply—"FRANÇOISE GABRIELLE AGLAR DE POLIGNAC, DUCHESSE DE GRAMMONT, NÉE A PARIS LE 7th MAI 1760; MORTÉ LE 30th MAY 1803."

(13) P. 162. The Right Hon. Robert Montgomery Hamilton, Lord Belhaven and Stenton, appointed Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly after the accession of William IV., was the first who took up his official residence in the Palace, at the special command, it is understood, of his Majesty. It may be mentioned, however, that when the Earl of Leven and Melville was Lord High Commissioner for a number of years half a century previous, his Lordship held his levees in the Palace, and his public processions were from that edifice to St Giles's Church.

(14) P. 163. The death of Mr Medina is recorded in the Edinburgh Magazine for 1796, p. 325.

(15) P. 163. This statement in reference to the present furniture in Holyrood is corroborated by an account of an official visit to the Palace, and an inventory of the effects found in the edifice, preserved in Lord Haddington's Extracts from the Records of the Privy Council of Scotland, in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh.—"On the 9th of Junii 1603, The Lords of Secreit Counsall thinkes meitt that the Lord Chancellor and Clerk of Register visite the Palace of Halyrudhouse, and make inventar of the insight and plenishing thairin, and to delyver the dowbell of the same to John Fentoun, comptroller clerk, and Thomas Fentoun, keeper of the said Palace. 10 Junii 1603.—*Inventar of the Moveables of Halyruidhous.*—The quhilk day the Erle of Montroise, Chancelair, and Mr John Skeine, Clerk of his Hienes Register, haveing visit the Palace of Haliruidhous, and everie particular hous of the same, exceptand the gairdrobe, fand na uther thingis by the particulers underwritten, except some buirds, furmes, and stuilles, nocht worthy to be inrollit. In the first, in the counsall house ane knok (clock); in the over chalmer, aboue the Quenis cabinet, twa peicis of tapestrie; in the Maister of Warkis out-with chalmer, ane fair wrocht pend for a bed, wantand the heid, and back pend with courtingis for the frontill and the fut; ane

chair coverit with purple velvot, ane coverlet of ane buird of red velvot upon quhyt satin, ane auld covering of ane bed of chainging taffetie. Item, lyand in the transe (passage) be the quhilk thai gang to the wyld bestiall, twa pieces of talpestrie, quhilkis ar deliverit to the keeping of Thomas Fentoun, and he to be answerable thairfor. The saidis Lordis ordainis the key of the chalmer duir to be delyverit to the said Thomas Fentoun quhairintill the bell is hingand, with the hail buirdis and daskis that war standing thairintill befor."

(16) P. 163. William III. intended to be crowned King of Scotland in the Chapel-Royal, but the design was relinquished, and the Union in Queen Anne's reign rendered a repetition of that ceremonial in the case of succeeding sovereigns unnecessary either at Holyrood or Scone. The state of the Palace after the Revolution may be ascertained from the following extract of a letter from the Duke of Queensberry to the celebrated Dr Carstairs, Principal of the University of Edinburgh, dated Holyroodhouse, Aug. 9, 1700—"As for what you write of preparations in case of his (the King) coming, its not thought fit to take advice, and I must own that I am very little skilful in these things. But what at present occurs to me is, that his house will need several reparations to make it any way habitable for him, and even these cannot be done without observation and some time. Besides, all who have lodgings in the Abbay must be timeously advertised to remove, and provide for themselves, because the lodgings constantly inhabited are fitter for the Court's use than the others, and I believe the whole will be necessary for him and his attendants. Duke Hamilton's lodgings are the warmest and closest, and certainly the King must keep these for his private business, and lying there; and the rooms which I now have, that are called the *King's Apartments*, for his appearing in public. It will also be necessary to send furniture fit for the King. If what I have here can be useful, his Majesty may command it. There must be two states (thrones) provided, one for the Abbay, and another for the Parliament House; there must also be greater conveniences made for horses and coaches. But the worst of all is, there is very little public money to make

what preparations are necessary." The Marquis of Annandale writes to Principal Carstairs, dated Holyroodhouse, Sept. 16, 1700—"I am fully sensible, and I give you thanks for it, that you did your best endeavours for making me easy in my lodgings. What his Majesty's pleasure is towards me on any occasion shall always be received as becomes; if he may not dispose of his own house, I may bear the want of it, but I am now lodged in ground rooms, which are both most unwholesome and most inconvenient, and my children lying in garrets; and these rooms which properly belong to my lodgings are empty, and without a rag of furniture; only it seems to satisfy some people's humours. But I can bear any inconvenience rather as my master should be uneasy upon my account. I need not tell you that the house is now possessed by those who brave and hector the Government; more of this will be soon heard of; and it seems hard enough that those who serve the King cannot be easy in his house, when they that are turned out of his service enjoy the best part of it."

CHAPTER XVIII.

(1) P. 164. THIS curious old building has been evidently one of the former entrances to the Palace. North-east from it, towards the gate near the Abbeyhill, which was constructed on the occasion of the visit of George IV., and used by the Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly, is an old wall of some height, the boundary between the street and the garden ornamented by the sun-dial. As to Queen Mary's Bath, if the hovel, for such it now is, was ever used as such by her, it must have been in her time, as now, close to the street. It is said that Mary always bathed herself in milk, and her "gentle" cousin Queen Elizabeth in port wine.

(2) P. 166. St Anthony's Well is introduced pathetically in the first part of the fine old Scottish ballad, entitled "The Marchioness of Douglas," the heroine of which was Lady Barbara Erskine, the eldest daughter of John ninth Earl of Mar, who married James second Marquis of Douglas in September 1679,

a personage of violent behaviour, by whom she was barbarously treated on a false charge of conjugal infidelity, which had been insinuated to the Marquis by a gentleman named Lourie, who had previously courted her without success. The lady is made to sing sorrowfully—

“ Now Arthur's Seat shall be my bed,
The sheets shall ne'er be press'd by me;
St Anton's Well shall be my drink,
Since my true love has forsaken me.”

Lady Barbara was eventually separated from her husband, her father proceeding with a large retinue and carrying her away. She bore one son to the Marquis, who was killed at the head of his regiment in the battle of Steinkirk in 1692. The Marquis married a second wife, and by her was the father of Archibald Duke of Douglas, the celebrated Lady Jane Douglas, and other children.

(3) P. 166. Salisbury Crags and Arthur's Seat present ample materials to interest the geologist and botanist. St Leonard's Hill, in front of the former, consists of greenstone below, and a layer of sandstone above. The sloping base of Salisbury Crags is formed of ultimate layers of sandstone and shale, above which is a mass of greenstone fifty feet thick, and a layer of sandstone at the top, while a protrusion of greenstone forms the north-east corner of the Crags which overlook Holyroodhouse. The sandstone strata above gradually slopes eastward, when it is again cut off by a protruded mass of greenstone porphyry or base greenstone, with square crystals of felspar interspersed. Immediately below this is a low winding terrace, on which is the footpath leading to the summit, the rock in this part consisting of porphyritic greenstone. The eminence on which are the ruins of St Anthony's Chapel is basalt, and this basalt extends southward. The greater part of Arthur's Seat above consists of beds of greenstone, partly of a vesicular lava-like structure, partly of a porphyritic greenstone, and the rest of an amygdaloidal character, apparently heaved up from below. These romantic hills display almost every interesting point in the position of the trap formation. At the south-west point, where is the hollow of the Cat-Nick, the western half of the

Crag joins the northward by means of a dyke of greenstone shooting up from below, and on each side of the Cat-Nick the dip is different. The south-western part and highest summit of Arthur's Seat apparently owe their elevation to a mass of basaltic trap, and the rock is the same as that which forms the elevated parts of the south brow and Samson's Ribs, assuming the basaltic or columnar character immediately above. The sandstone of Salisbury Crag is of a deep red colour, alternating with seams of clay and shale, the whole sloping base covered with the mouldering fragments of the rocks above, worn down by the incessant action of the weather, partially aided by the operations of man. Numerous quartz veins, and occasionally beautiful crystals in cavities, are found in the rocks of Arthur's Seat, as is also jasper in considerable quantities in veins, which is of sufficient hardness to take a fine polish, though it is also met with of an extremely soft substance, little changed from clay, yet marked and striped with various colours, exhibiting the clayey matter passing into jasper. Sulphate of barytes is abundant, and clay, ironstone, with fibrous iron ore of a clove brown colour. East of St Anthony's Chapel the rocks are of a spongy cellular substance, strongly approaching the structure of lava. The hill known as the *Hangman's Knowe* on the south-east precipice of the hill overlooking Duddingstone Loch, presents indications of the strata through which the substance passed in its ascent upward; and huge masses of conglomerate, and limestone, and fragments of the sandstone strata still remain. The variety of plants on Arthur's Seat will amply reward the search of the botanist, no fewer than 400 having been enumerated, though not all strictly indigenous to the spot, and thrive in luxuriance and beauty. Insects find on the hills a congenial soil. Three species of ants are in great abundance; the chirping of the grasshoppers is heard; and a scarce butterfly called the *Papilio Artaxerxes* is peculiar to Arthur's Seat. Four species of lizards have been discovered in the parks, and the blind worm (*anguis fragilis*) is found in banks of loose earth on Salisbury Crag. Pike, perch, and eels, abound in that romantic little lake called Duddingstone

Loch, which is enlivened by the coot, water-rail, and water-hen. The only animals which breed on the hills and in the valleys are the rabbit and the mole. From the summit of Arthur's Seat, more or less of ten counties may be seen in a clear day. Tradition most erroneously alleges that the hills were once covered with wood, and in the view of Edinburgh in Slezer's "Theatrum Scotiæ," a profusion of trees is given on the ascent to Arthur's Seat which certainly were not in existence when that work was published in 1693.—Rhind's *Excursions illustrative of the Geology and Natural History of the Environs of Edinburgh*, 12mo. 1836, p. 1-20.

(4) P. 166. The ironical designation of an "Abbey Laird" occurs in an old comic song entitled the "Cock Laird," which proves that it is not of recent origin. In this song a Scottish yeoman makes love to his sweetheart, but considering her expectations too extravagant, he informs her that, although he possesses as much land as would supply them with meal and barley, yet, having no tenants, he has no money to squander on vanities. She replies (Herd's Collection, vol. ii. p. 36)—

"The Borrowstoun merchants
Will sell you on tick;
For we maun hae braw things,
Albeit they sould break.
When broken, frae care
The fools are set free,
When we mak them Lairds
In the Abbey, quoth she."

The words *break* and *broken* mean bankruptcy, which this extravagant damsel treats as of little importance. The merchants of Borrowstounness, or Bo'ness, a small seaport, formerly of some importance, on the Linlithgowshire side of the Frith of Forth, four miles from the town of Linlithgow, and in the vicinity of the Duke of Hamilton's fine seat of Kinneil House, long carried on most extensive mercantile traffic, and their vessels regularly sailed to London and other ports. Hence the allusion to their habit of giving "tick" or credit to their customers.

(5) P. 166. The Sanctuary of Holyrood has long been a place of refuge for English as well as Scottish debtors. The locality obtained this privilege from David I., and various charters of confirmation were granted by succeeding monarchs. In 1565, the then lay Commendator appointed Sir John Bellenden and his heirs-male heritable justiciars and bailies of the barony and regality, and in 1587 Bothwell, ex-Bishop of Orkney, resigned the same to James VI. for infestment to Bellenden, specially "excepting the Abbey or Monastery of Holyroodhouse, and the lands immediately adjoining to it." Bothwell's family ceased to have any connection with the Palace and domain in 1646, when a charter was granted by Charles I. in favour of James first Duke of Hamilton, appointing his Grace and his heirs-male Heritable Keepers of Holyroodhouse. Although the Abbey as a burgh of regality was included in the Act abolishing the feudal jurisdictions (20 Geo. II. c. 43, § 27), it retained its privilege of sanctuary, which before the Reformation was extended to other royal residences throughout the country. Erskine (*Institutes of the Law of Scotland*, Book IV. Tit. 3, § 25) states—"No caption for debt can be executed within the precincts of the King's Palace of Holyroodhouse. This exemption has probably been granted originally to the place of the King's residence, wherever he happened to keep his Court, that he might not be deprived of the assistance or advice of his subjects on any misfortune befalling them from a civil cause; but even after the accession of our Kings to the Crown of England, constant usage hath continued that privilege to the Abbey of Holyroodhouse." Mr Bell, in his *Commentaries on the Mercantile Law of Scotland*, approves of the maintenance of the Sanctuary of Holyrood, because it is temporary neutral ground on which a debtor and creditor can meet to treat for terms of mutual compromise, and the averting of a creditor's vindictive measures is apparently the only justifiable reason for retaining the privilege. The statute (6 and 4 Will. IV. c. 56) concerning the process of *Cessio Bonorum*, has greatly lessened the number of those who were obliged to remain within the royal domain of Holyrood as "Abbey Lairds" six days of the week. The Bailie, or Chief Magistrate of the Abbey, is

appointed by the Duke of Hamilton, and holds courts when required. He nominates his substitutes and his procurator-fiscal, and the officer of the court is keeper of the prison, an edifice rarely occupied. It is unnecessary to enumerate the legal peculiarities connected with the Sanctuary of Holyrood. Many important legal questions have been during the lapse of time decided by the Bailie on the privileges of the debtor, the rights of the creditor, the jurisdiction and powers of the Bailie, imprisonment in the Abbey jail, liberation therefrom, obtaining and emitting the privilege of protection, searching for money fraudulently retained by the debtor, withholding or delivering up the person of one seeking sanctuary, and other matters. The Court of Session affirmed in 1810 that the Bailie of Holyrood is "judge competent, and possesses an original jurisdiction in all cases of debt or civil obligation, without limitation as to amount, against all persons residing within the territory, whether registered within the Sanctuary or not." The fact of "coming within" the Sanctuary to avoid the proceedings of creditors constitutes bankruptcy, even when no caption is raised. A debtor, though protected, is amenable to the jurisdiction of the Abbey for debts contracted within the Sanctuary, and also for debts contracted out of it after taking the benefit. The Abbey confers no benefit of protection on criminals or those accused of delinquencies. The boundaries of the police of Edinburgh comprehend a great part of the Abbey domain, and persons charged with offences therein fall generally into the hands of the said police in the first instance. The gradual extension of the police jurisdiction has superseded the former criminal jurisdiction of the Bailie, and the modifications or alterations of the law of imprisonment for debt render the Abbey of Holyrood as a "Sanctuary" almost unnecessary.

(6) P. 168. Declaration of Nicol Muschet in "Criminal Trials illustrative of the Tale entitled the Heart of Mid-Lothian," 12mo. Edin. 1818, p. 331-343. Muschet was a medical student, and proprietor of a small landed estate called Boghall. He was a weak man, fond of low company, and easily entrapped

by designing persona. His victim, named Margaret Hall, was the daughter of a change-house keeper in the High Street of Edinburgh. She appears to have had an affection for him, notwithstanding much cruel treatment from him and his associates.

(7) P. 168. In addition to the story of Nicol Muschet and his cairn, the following narrative of a mysterious duel near Holyrood is taken from the "Winter Evening Tales" of James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd. "About this very time (1745), a respectable farmer, whose surname was M'Millan, and who resided in the neighbourhood of Musselburgh, happened to be in Edinburgh about some business. In the evening he called upon a friend who lived near Holyroodhouse; and being seized with an indisposition they persuaded him to tarry with them all night. About the middle of the night he grew exceedingly ill, and, unable to find any rest or ease in his bed, he imagined that he would be the better of a walk. He put on his clothes, and that he might not disturb the family, slipped quietly out at the back-door, and walked in St Anthony's garden behind the house. The moon shone so bright, that it was almost as light as noonday, and he had scarcely taken a single turn until he saw a tall man enter from the other side, buttoned in a drab-coloured greatcoat. It so happened that at that time M'Millan stood in the shadow of the wall, and perceiving that the stranger did not observe him, a thought struck him that it would not be amiss to keep himself concealed, that he might see what the man was going to be about. He walked backwards and forwards for some time in apparent impatience, looking at his watch every minute, until at length another man came in by the same way, buttoned likewise in a greatcoat, and having a bonnet on his head. He was remarkably stout made, but considerably lower in stature than the other. They exchanged only a single word; then turning both about, they threw off their coats, drew their swords, and began a most desperate and well contested combat. The tall gentlemen appeared to have the advantage. He constantly gained ground on the other, and drove him half round the division of the garden in which

they fought. Each of them strove to fight with his back towards the moon, so that she might shine full in the face of his opponent; and many rapid wheels were made for the purpose of gaining this position. The engagement was long and obstinate, and by the desperate thrusts that were frequently aimed on both sides it was evident that they meant one another's destruction. They came at length within a few yards of the place where M'Millan still stood concealed. They were both out of breath, and at that instant a small cloud chancing to overshadow the moon, one of them called out—"Hold! we can't see." They uncovered their heads—wiped their faces—and as soon as the moon emerged from the cloud, each resumed his guard. Surely that was an awful pause, and short indeed was the stage between it and eternity with the one. The tall gentleman made a lunge at the other, who parried and returned it; and as the former sprung back to avoid the thrust, his foot slipped, and he stumbled forward towards his antagonists, who dexterously met his breast in the fall with the point of his sword, and ran him through the body. He made only one feeble convulsive struggle, as if attempting to rise, and expired almost instantaneously. M'Millan was petrified with horror; but conceiving himself to be in a perilous situation, having stolen out of the house at that dead hour of the night, he had so much presence of mind as to hold his peace, and to keep from interfering in the smallest degree.

"The surviving combatant wiped his sword with great composure—put on his bonnet—covered the body with one of the greatcoats—took up the other, and departed. M'Millan returned quietly to his chamber without awakening any of the family; his pains were gone, but his mind was shocked and exceedingly perturbed; and after deliberating till morning, he determined to say nothing of the matter, and to make no living creature acquainted with what he had seen, thinking that suspicion would infallibly rest on him. Accordingly he kept his bed next morning until his friend brought him the tidings that a gentleman had been murdered at the back of the house during the night. He then arose and examined the body, which was that of a young man, seemingly from the country, having brown

hair and fine manly features. He had neither letter, book, nor signature of any kind about him, that could in the least lead to a discovery of who he was; only a common silver watch was found in his pocket, and an elegant sword was clasped in his cold bloody hand, and had an A and B engraved on the hilt. The sword had entered at his breast, and gone out at his back a little below the left shoulder. He had likewise received a slight wound on the sword arm." The parties were never discovered.

CHAPTER XIX.

(1) P. 169. TRADITION still identifies the place, near the ford of a rivulet, where Athelstane fell and was buried. Near this spot some workmen, who were opening a quarry in 1832 to procure metal for the roads, found a stone coffin containing the remains of a human body in a very decayed state, about two feet and a half below the surface. This coffin was formed of five handsome freestones, one at each side of the body, one at the head, another at the feet, and one for a covering; and an intelligent mason who examined the stones was of opinion that no freestone of the same quality as that which formed the coffin has been found nearer than eight miles from the locality. Nothing was in the coffin except the skeleton. The under-jaw of the skeleton and the coffin are in possession of the proprietor of the estate of Athelstaneford (Kinloch, Bart. of Gilmerton). At the Reformation this estate was assigned to the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, with which it is still connected, and forms a considerable part of the income of the Deans. The late Sir David Kinloch of Gilmerton obtained from the Crown a perpetual lease of the lands at the following rent—Wheat, 46 bolls Linlithgow measure; barley, 51 bolls; ditto oats, 35 bolls ditto; kain fowl, one dozen of hens, two dozen of poultry. The rent is doubled for one year at every singular succession of the family of Gilmerton.—New Statistical Account of Scotland—Haddingtonshire, p. 49, 50.

(2) P. 177. Grose's Antiquities of Scotland, vol. i. p. 28, 29..

In a MS. by Sir Robert Sibbald, preserved in the Advocates' Library, the interior of the royal vault is thus described nearly six years before the Revolution—"Upon the 24th of January 1688, by procurement of the Bishop of Dunblayn, I went into ane vault on the south-east corner of the Abbey Church of Hale-Rude, and there were present the Lord Strathnaver and the Earle of Forfara, Mr Robert Scott, Minister of the Abbey, the Bishop of Dunblayn, and several ithers. We viewed the body of King James the Fyft of Scotland. It lyeth within ane wooden coffin, and is coverit with ane leaden coffin. There seemed to be haire upon the head. The body was twae lengths of my staffe, with twae inches mair, that is, twae inches and mair above twae Scottish ells, for I measured the staffe with an elnwand afterwards. The body was coloureit black with the balsam that preservit it, which was lyke meltit pitch. The Earle of Forfara took the measure with his staffe lykewise. There were plates of lead, in several long pieces, louse and about the coffin, which carried the following inscription, as I tuke it from before the Bishop and Noblemen in the aisle of the said church—'*Illustris Scotorum Rex Jacobus, ejus Nom. V. ætatis suæ anno xxxi. Regni vero xxx. Mortem obiit in Palatio de Falkland xiv Decembris Anno Dni. MDXLII. cujus Corpus hic traditum est sepulture.*' Next the south wall in a smaller niche, lay a short coffin with the teeth in the skull. To the little coffin in the smaller niche seemeth to belong this inscription, made out of long plates of lead in the Saxon character—'*Magdalena Francisii Regi Franciæ Primaginita, Regina Scotorum, Sponsa de Jacobi V. Regis. D—i A—o MDXXXVIII. ob.*' There was ane piece of a leaden croun, upon the side of whilk I saw two *fluor-de-luces* gilded; and upon the north side of the coffin lay two children; none of the coffins a full ell long, and one of the them lying within in ane wood chest, the other only the lead coffin. Upon the south side, next the King's body, lay ane great coffin of lead with the body in it. The muscles of the thigh seemed to be entire, and the balsom stagnating in some quantity at the foot of the coffin; there appeared no inscription upon the coffin, but (it) was maist likelye King Henry Darnley's. And at the east syde

of the vault, which was at the feet of the other coffins, lay a coffin with the skull sawn in two, and an inscription in small gold letters gilded upon a square of the lead coffin, making it to be the body of Dame Jean Stewart, Countess of Argyle, with the year of her death, I suppose 1585, or so, I do not well remember the year." As a contrast to this, Arnot's description of the Royal Vault is worthy of notice—"When we last visited this once stately edifice, we beheld in the middle of the Chapel the broken shafts of the columns which had been borne down by the weight of the roof, which fell on the 2d of December 1768, through the extreme avarice of a stupid architect. Upon looking into the vaults, the doors of which were open, we found that what had escaped the fury of the mob at the Revolution became a prey to those who ransacked the church after it fell. In 1776 we had seen the body of James V. and some others in their leaden coffins. These coffins were now stolen. The head of Queen Magdalen, which was then entire, and even beautiful, and the skull of Darnley, were also stolen; his thigh bones, however, still remain, and are proofs of the vastness of his stature."

(3) P. 181. The fees then paid by the Knights of the Thistle are as follows—

To the Lord Lyon King-at-Arms, . . .	L. 27	15	7
To the Secretary of the Order, . . .	55	11	1
To the Gentleman Usher of the Green Rod, . . .	27	15	6
	<hr/>		
	L. 111	2	2

(4) P. 181. The fees now paid by each Knight of the Thistle are—

To the Lord Lyon-King-at-Arms, . . .	L. 70
To the Secretary of the Order, . . .	100
To the Gentleman Usher of the Green Rod, . . .	70
To six Heralds, . . .	30
To six Pursuivants, . . .	18
To six State Trumpeters, . . .	9
	<hr/>
	L. 297

THE CANONGATE.

(1) P. 184. Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk, Edin. 1819, vol. i. p. 26, 27. Dr Peter Morris, in his next letter, addressed to the Rev. David Williams, describes the enthusiasm of Mr Wastle—"I believe that had I given myself up entirely to the direction of my friend the Laird, I should have known up to this hour very little about Edinburgh more modern than the Canongate, and perhaps have heard as little about the worthies she has produced since the murder of Archbishop Sharp. He seemed to consider it a matter of course that, morning after morning, the whole of my time ought to be spent in examining the structure of those gloomy tenements in wynds and closes which had in the old time been honoured with the residence of the haughty Scottish Barons, or the French ambassadors and Generals, their constant visitors. In vain did I assure him that houses of exactly the same sort were to be seen in abundance in the city of London, and that I myself had been wearied of counting the *fleurs-de-lis* carved on every roof and chimney-piece of a green-grocer's habitation in Mincing Lane. Of such food in his estimation there could be no satiety, every *land* had its coat of arms, and every quarter called up to his memory the whole history of some unfortunate amour, or still more unfortunate marriage."—Vol. i. p. 34, 35.

(2) P. 185. Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. ii. p.

(3) P. 185. Extracts from "Proceedings in the Cause, Robert, Commendator, and the Convent of Halyrudhous, against the Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh," Bannatyne Miscellany, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, vol. ii. p. 27–31.

(4) P. 185. Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 12. *Herbergare* means *domum construere, edificare, &c.* The etymology of the word and the authorities are in Dufresne's "Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis," folio, Paris, 1733, tom. iii. p. 1105. See also the Observations in the Preface to "Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis," printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. xviii. xlv.

(5) P. 185. St Mary's Wynd is not within the ancient burgh and parish of the Canongate. Although the Canongate is the general designation, the burgh and parish on the south side of the street properly commence at St John's Street.

(6) P. 185. "At Edinburgh there was a poor nunnery in St Marie Wynd, which we have mentioned in the Chartular of St Giles."—Father Hay's *Scotia Sacra*, MS. in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, p. 213.

(7) P. 186. Nicoll's Diary, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 24.

(8) P. 186. The contempt or scorn which the ladies of the Canongate evinced for their neighbours on the west of the Nether-Bow is expressed in an old popular ballad—

"The ladies o' the Canongate,
Oh they are wondrous nice,
They winna gie a single kiss
But for a double price.
Gar hang them, gar hang them,
Hich upon a tree,
For we'll get better up the gate
For a bawbee."

The tragic ballad of "Mary Hamilton," which Sir Walter Scott alleges is the same story as that which John Knox relates of an amour between Queen Mary's French attendants and one of her ladies, thus records the unfortunate heroine—

"When she gaed up through the Nether-Bow Port,
She lauched loud laughers three:
But when that she cam doon again,
The tear stood in her e'e.
As she gaed doon the Canongate,
The Canongate sae free,
Monie a ladie look'd o'er her window,
Weeping for sweet Marie."

(9) P. 187. History of Leith, by Alexander Campbell, 12mo. Leith, 1827. This local writer, whose book is a most amusing memorial of rabidness against the citizens of Edinburgh in general, and the denizens of the Canongate in particular, cautiously abstains from assigning his reasons for his statement

that the heroines at the siege of Leith were a "detachment from the Canongate of Edinburgh."

(10) P. 188. *The Chronicles of the Canongate*, by Sir Walter Scott—Second Series—*Fair Maid of Perth*, Edin. 8vo. 1828, vol. i. p. 3, 4, 5.

(11) P. 188. Allan Ramsay, in his "Elegy on Luckie Wood," a well known keeper of an alehouse in the Canongate, laments the deplorable condition of the burgh occasioned by the Union—

"Oh, Canongate, puir eldrich hole!
What loss, what crosses does thou thole!
London and Death gars thee look droll,
And hing thy head;
Wow but thou hast e'en a cauld coal
To blaw indeed."

(12) P. 188. It ought here to be observed, however, of the Canongate, that the extensive buildings of the Edinburgh Gas Company, and more recently the accommodation required for the North British Railway, have considerably depopulated the burgh. Yet, notwithstanding the decayed condition of the streets, and the squalidness of the lanes or closes, the number of public houses and whisky shops is surprising, and sufficiently intimates that "Sir John Barleycorn" is all potent in the Canongate.

(13) P. 189. "The house," says Lord Stowell, "was kept by a woman, and she was called *Luckie*, which it seems is synonymous to *Goody* in England. I at first thought the appellation very inappropriate, and that *Unlucky* would have been better, for Dr Johnson had a mind to throw the waiter, as well as the lemonade, out of the window."—*Boswell's Life of Johnson*, edited by John Wilson Croker, 8vo. Lond. 1831, vol. ii. p. 259, 260. Sir Walter Scott says of the White Horse Inn—"It continued a place from which *coaches* used to start till the end of the eighteenth century. It was a base hovel." The condition of the inns of Edinburgh at that time—*hotels* were unknown—is described by Arnot in 1779 as "mean buildings, their apartments dirty and dismal, and if the waiters happen to be out of the way, a stranger will perhaps be shocked with the novelty of

being shewn into a room by a dirty sun-burnt wench without shoes or stockings."

(14) P. 189. *Minor Antiquities of Edinburgh* by Robert Chambers, 12mo. 1838, p. 228, 229.

(15) P. 190. Mr Chambers, in his "Walks in Edinburgh," records this introduction of the drama into Edinburgh—"About two hundred yards eastward from the Nether-Bow, and directly opposite to the head of New Street, which there branches off from the Canongate to the left, is an alley, now designated the *Auld Play-House Close*, at the bottom of which stood the house which served Edinburgh as a theatre previous to the erection of the present edifice in 1768. To this obscure retreat the liberal part of the gentry of Edinburgh, and the most degraded part of the common people (for of those classes were the players of Edinburgh then composed), resorted to see such stars as Digges, Ward, and Bellamy; and many a night, as gossips tell, has this mean alley been crowded with sedans, containing the most brilliant toasts who flourished in Edinburgh at the middle of the last century. We have heard a laughable anecdote related of the destruction of this house, which serves to illustrate the popular feeling respecting the Stage in Scotland at that time, and must amuse all classes of our readers. The prejudice against theatrical amusements amounted in the minds of the vulgar to absolute superstition; and we cannot wonder at the persecution which Home met with from the clergy, when it is understood that the Devil was believed to be in league with the players, and that the simplest stage-tricks were attributed to supernatural agency. This absurd notion was so prevalent and so strongly rooted in the public mind, that it at last caused the destruction of the Canongate Play-House. Upon one occasion, when the manager broke faith with the public, by substituting the tragedy of Hamlet for a play that had been announced in the bills, the audience expressed their disapprobation and horror at so profane a play by the most outrageous exclamations; and being shortly joined by the disaffected people out of doors, from less to more proceeded at length to set fire to the house. To protect the peace of the city,

the Town-Guard were called out, and marched to the spot; but though these veterans had found no qualms in facing the French at Blenheim and Dettingen, they had not courage sufficient to support them in an attack upon the frontiers of the Evil One. When ordered, therefore, by their commander to advance into the house and across the stage, the poor fellows fairly stopped short amidst the scenes, the glaring colours of which at once surprised and terrified them. Indignant at this pusillanimity, the captain seized a musket, and placing himself in the attitude of a determined leader, called out—"Follow me, my lads!" But just at the moment that he was going to rush across the stage and attack the rioters, he happened to tread upon a trap-door (which had been left ajar, we suppose, for the ghost, or perhaps for Ophelia's grave), and in a twinkling vanished from the sight of his men, who instantly retreated, and left the house to the destruction which they had been called upon to prevent. It is further said, that when their honoured captain reappeared, the guard, who had given him up for lost, received him in the quality of a ghost, and could scarcely be undeceived even by his cursing them in good Gaelic for a parcel of cowardly scoundrels."

(16) P. 191. Lord Hailes occupied the house in New Street numbered 23.

(17) P. 192. Bishop Guthry's *Memoirs*, p. 298. The Bishop says—"Those that haunted him (Cromwell) most were, besides the Marquis of Argyll, London the Chancellor, the Earl of Lothian, the Lords of Arbuthnot, Elcho, and (Balfour of) Burleigh; and of ministers, Mr David Dickson, Mr Robert Blair, and Mr James Guthrie. What passed among them came not to be known infallibly, but it was talked very loud that he did communicate to them his design in reference to the King, and had their assent thereto."

(18) P. 193. *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, with Elucidations*, by Thomas Carlisle, 8vo. 1846, vol. i. p. 375, 378.

(19) P. 193. The balcony at Moray House was originally railed, but it was long a bare projection till 1842, when the present

railing was placed on it a few days before the progress of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert up the Canongate and High Street to the Castle.

(20) P. 193. Lamont's Chronicle of Fife, from 1649 to 1672, 4to. Edin. 1810, p. 20.

(21) P. 194. "They caused the cart to stop for some time before the Earl of Moray's house, where by an unparalleled baseness Argyll, with the chief men of his cabal, who never durst look him in the face while he had his sword in his hand appeared then in the windows and balcony, in order merrily to feed their sight with a spectacle which struck terror into all good men, but Montrose astonished them with his looks, and his resolution confounded them."—History of the Troubles in Great Britain from 1633 to 1650, by Robert Monteith of Salmonet, folio, Lond. 1735, p. 512, 513.

(22) P. 194. The alleged entail of Moray House is stated in a note to the "Minor Antiquities of Edinburgh" by Robert Chambers. In 1847 Moray House was transformed into a normal school, and the interior completely altered.

(23) P. 195. The treaty of Union is said to have been finally signed in a cellar long occupied as a coach office and public house opposite the Tron Church in the High Street.

(24) P. 196. Maitland's History of Edinburgh, p. 156. Previous to the marriage of Lady Henrietta Mordaunt, the Noble Family of Gordon had adhered to the Roman Catholic faith. Though the Duke still continued to profess that religion, the Duchess educated her four sons and seven daughters in the principles of the Church of England, of which she was a zealous member, and she was in 1735 rewarded by George II. with an annual pension of £1000 for the better support of herself and children. Her Grace survived the Duke thirty-two years, and died at Prestonhall, an estate which she had purchased for L.8877 in 1738, upwards of four miles south of Dalkeith, on the 11th of October 1760. Her eldest son Cosmo George succeeded as second Duke; her third son was Lord Lewis Gordon, conspicuous in the Enterprise of 1745, who escaped abroad after the battle

of Culloden, and was attainted in 1746, and her fourth son was Lord Adam Gordon, Commander-in-Chief in Scotland from 1789 till he resigned that office to Sir Ralph Abercrombie in June 1798. Lord Adam, who resided in Holyrood Palace, the south side of which he considerably improved, died at his seat of The Burn in Kincardineshire in August 1801, and was interred beside his wife Jane, Dowager of James second Duke of Atholl, at Inveresk near Musselburgh, where a monument is erected to their memory. His Lordship was Governor of Edinburgh Castle at the time of his death, in which he was succeeded by his grand-nephew George fifth and last Duke of Gordon, and last Governor of the Castle previous to the Act of Parliament which annexed that appointment *ex officio* to the Commander-in-Chief in Scotland.

(25) P. 197. Wodrow's *Analecta*, printed for the MATTLAND CLUB, 4to. 1843, vol. iii. p. 522, 523.

(26) P. 197. Immediately over an archway of the Canongate Tolbooth is the inscription—"PATRIÆ ET POSTERIS 1591." Above the arms and motto of the Canongate are inscribed—"J. R. 6. JUSTITIA ET PIETAS VALIDÆ SUNT PRINCIPIS ARMS."

(27) P. 199. Lady Yester's Church, one of the parish churches of the city of Edinburgh, was founded by, or originated with, Lady Margaret Ker, third daughter of Mark first Earl of Lothian. This Lady married James seventh Lord Hay of Yester, by whom she had two sons and one daughter. Her eldest son succeeded as eighth Lord Hay of Yester, was elevated to the dignity of Earl of Tweeddale in 1646, and had in 1633 and 1637 been conspicuous for his opposition to the Act for "Regulating the Apparel of Churchmen" and the introduction of the Scottish Liturgy. His Lordship was the father of John second Earl and first Marquis of Tweeddale. Lady Yester's husband died in 1609, and her Ladyship married Sir Andrew Ker, only son of Sir Andrew Ker of Fernihirst, who died in December 1628, leaving no issue. Lady Yester died on the 15th of March 1647, in the seventy-fifth year of her age, leaving to the Town-Council of Edinburgh 10,000 merks to erect a church, and

5000 merks for the endowment of the minister, but as those sums were required for the building, her Ladyship granted 1000 merks annually out of her jointure till the sum of 12,000 merks was paid. The church was erected at the south-west end of the High-School Wynd, near the Blackfriars' Wynd and Cowgate, in the present Infirmary Street, and a few yards east of the modern Lady Yester's church, which was built in 1803. Maitland inserts the following doggrel monumental inscription, which was in the cemetery of the former church—

“ It's needless to erect a marble tomb;
The daily bread that for the hungry womb,
And bread of life thy bounty hath provided,
For hungry souls all times to be divided,
World-lasting monuments shall rear
That shall endure till Christ himself appear.
Pos'd was thy life, prepared thy happy end,
Nothing in either was without commend.
Let it be the care of all who live hereafter,
To live and die like Margaret Lady Yester.”

Though Lady Yester's church was no great distance from the Canongate, it could only be “more convenient” to the inhabitants of the Nether-Bow end of the burgh.

(28) P. 200. Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ix. Appendix, p. 90.

(29) P. 201. Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ix. p. 159, 160.

(30) P. 202. Edinburgh Evening Courant, May 21, 1753.

(31) P. 203. Lady Anne Gordon, third daughter of Alexander second Duke of Gordon, who was the third Countess of William second Earl of Aberdeen. The Earl died in March 1746, in the seventieth year of his age, and the Countess, by whom he had three sons and one daughter, survived him till 1790. The Hon. Alexander Gordon, the third son, became a Judge in the Court of Session, from 1788 till his death in 1792, by the title of Lord Rockville.

(32) P. 204. The arrival or departure of the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry was always duly chronicled in the newspapers of the day. A specimen of this occurs in the Edinburgh Evening

Courant of Monday, 3d September 1753—"Friday last, their Graces the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry arrived at their lodgings in the Canongate from Drumlanrig."—Ibid. Thursday, 18th September 1753—"Yesterday, their Graces the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry set out from their house in the Canongate for Drumlanrig."—Ibid. July 23, 1754—"Sunday night, the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry arrived at his Grace's house in the Canongate from Drumlanrig."

(33) P. 205. This Duke of Queensberry, whose extraordinary habits obtained for him a peculiar repute in his day, even when he was far advanced in life, was the third Earl of March, and was the only offspring of William second Earl, and Lady Anne Hamilton, eldest daughter of John Earl of Selkirk and Rutherglen, or Ruglen, Countess of Ruglen in her own right on the death of her father in 1749. The third Earl of March succeeded his father in 1731, and became Earl of Ruglen at the death of his mother in 1748. Charles third Duke of Queensberry and second Duke of Dover had two sons who predeceased him, and at his death in 1778 the British Dukedom of Dover and the Scottish Earldom of Solway became extinct, but the Scottish Dukedom of Queensberry, with most extensive estates in England and Scotland, devolved to his cousin the Earl of March. At the death of this the last Duke of Queensberry, who was unmarried, his British title of Baron Douglas of Ambresbury in Wiltshire, created in 1786, became extinct, as also the Scottish titles of Earl of Ruglen, and Viscount Riccarton, but the titles of Duke of Queensberry, Marquis of Dumfriesshire, Earl of Drumlanrig and Sanquhar, Viscount of Nith, Torthorwald, and Ross, Lord Douglas of Kinmont, Middlebie, and Dornock, and the extensive property of Drumlanrig in Dumfriesshire devolved to Henry third Duke of Buccleuch, the heir of line, whose successors are now Dukes of Buccleuch and Queensberry. The titles of Marquis and Earl of Queensberry, Viscount of Drumlanrig, and Baron Douglas of Hawick, with the Baronies of Tinwald, Torthorwald, and other estates, devolved to Sir Charles Douglas of Kelhead, Bart., the heir-male; and the titles of Earl of March, Viscount of Peebles, and Lord

Douglas of Neidpath, Lyne, and Mannor, devolved to Francis seventh Earl of Wemyss as heir of Lord William Douglas, created Earl of March in 1677, second son of William first Duke of Queensberry, who obtained from his father the castle of Neidpath and very extensive property in the county of Peebles, now inherited by the Earls of Wemyss, who are descended from Lady Anne Douglas, only daughter of the first Duke of Queensberry, and who married David Lord Elcho, afterwards third Earl of Wemyss. Her brother the first Earl of March married Lady Jane Hay, daughter of the first Marquis of Tweeddale, by whom he had three sons and three daughters. With the exception of the eldest son, who succeeded as second Earl, and was the father of the third Earl of March and last Duke of Queensberry, they all died unmarried. The English property of Ambresbury was acquired by Lord Douglas of Douglas, the surviving twin son of Lady Jane Douglas and Sir John Stewart, Bart. of Grandtully, by settlement of the third Duke of Queensberry.

(34) P. 208. Traditions of Edinburgh, by Robert Chambers, vol. i. p. 287, 288, 289.

(35) P. 210. Pitcairn's Criminal Trials of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 445-8.

(36) P. 212. "Owing to the rank of Lady Warriston, and the powerful influence of her father and his friends, the *manner* of her death was on their intercession mitigated to decapitation by the well known 'Maiden.' The usual form for females in such cases was of the most ignominious and shocking description—burning, after being strangled at a stake, and in atrocious cases the criminal was *burnt quick* (alive). A very unbecoming zeal was displayed by her relations to have her executed as *privately* as possible, and at such a time as would be unknown to the populace. They had first intended and applied for the unusual hour of nine o'clock on Friday evening as the time for her execution, which, however, was overruled."—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. ii. p. 447.

(37) P. 213. Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. ii. p. 449.

(38) This curious specimen of the fanaticism of the reign of James VI. is entitled—"A Worthy and Notable Memorial of the great Work of Mercy which God wrought in the Conversion of Jean Livingston, Lady Warriston, who was apprehended for the murder of her own husband John Kincaid, committed on Tuesday, July 1, 1600, for which she was executed on Saturday following, containing an account of her obstinacy, earnest repentance, and her turning to God, of the odd Speeches she used during her Imprisonment, of her great and marvellous Constancy, and of her Behaviour and Manner of her Death. Observed by One who was both a Seer and Hearer of what was spoken." It is only from internal evidence that this tractate is alleged to be the production of James Balfour, Bruce's colleague as minister of the north-west part of Edinburgh. This was privately printed in small quarto in 1827 (pp. 48) by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq., from a paper preserved among Wodrow's MSS. in the Advocates' Library. The youth and beauty of Lady Warriston are the themes of various popular ballads still sung and recited in Scotland. See Jameson's *Ballads*, vol. i. p. 109; Kinloch's *Ancient Scottish Ballads*, p. 49; Buchan's *Ballads*, vol. i. p. 56.

(39) P. 217. Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, folio, p. 154, 155, 156.



RIDING OF THE PARLIAMENT.

(1) P. 219. This account of the ceremonial of the "Riding" of the Scottish Parliaments is taken from "The Scots Compendium, or Pocket Peerage of Scotland," Edinburgh, 1826. It must be understood as referring solely to the pageant during the seventeenth century, up to the period of the Union. The display was rude enough under the Sovereigns preceding Queen Mary's reign, when the Parliaments seem to have been ambulatory. Most of the meetings of the Estates were held in Edinburgh after the assassination of James I. at Perth in 1437, yet other towns were occasionally selected, and it was not till the erection of the Parliament Hall at Edinburgh in the reign of Charles I. that the metropolis became the permanent resort of the meetings of the Estates. The extinction of the Scottish Parliament was long deeply regretted by the citizens of Edinburgh, who hated the Treaty of Union, and loudly testified their indignation for half a century afterwards. Sir Walter Scott admirably delineates the sentiments of the people in the "HEART OF MID-LOTHIAN," where some of the citizens are represented as expressing their disappointment at the reprieve of Captain Porteous from execution in the Grassmarket.

"I am judging," said Mr Plumdamas, "that this reprieve wadna stand gude in the auld Scots law, when the Kingdom was a Kingdom."

"I dinna ken muckle about the law," answered Mrs Howden, "but I ken, when we had a King, and a Chancellor, and a Parliament o' our ane, we could aye peeble them wi' stanes when they were na gude bairns. But naeboddy's nails can reach the length o' Lunnon."

"Weary on Lunnon, and a' that e'er came out o't," said Miss Grizell Damahoy, an ancient seamstress. "They hae ta'en awa' our Parliament, and they hae oppressed our trade. Our gentles will hardly allow that a Scots needle can sew ruffles on a sark (shirt), or lace on an overlay."

Reproving Mr Saddletree, who preferred "Lords of Seat,"

or the Judges of the Court of Session, to "Lords of State," Miss Damahoy sagely observes—"As for the Lords of State, ye suld mind the Riding o' the Parliament, Mr Saddletree, in the gude auld time before the Union. A year's rent o' mony a gude estate gaed for horse-graith and harnessing, forbye broidered robes and foot-mantles, that wad hae stude by their lane wi' gold brocade, and that were muckle in my ain line."

"Aye," said Plumdamas, "but Scotland *was* Scotland in those days."

ERRATUM.

P. 214, Line 1. The reader is requested to omit the words—"who died in 1522," or to read the passage—"a successor in that See (Dunkeld) of the celebrated Gawin Douglas who died in 1522."



DIRECTIONS FOR PLACING THE ENGRAVINGS.

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